Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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LONDON, 1911.

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Volume One

A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Fund

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps, outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling — these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming

contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the "third world" as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

The first volume of the Selected Works, which is a project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, includes the correspondence, speeches and writings of Jawaharlal Nehru during the formative years which determined his life and outlook. It covers his school and college days in England and his years at the Allahabad Bar; and we then see the impact on him of events in India, the sufferings of the kisans and the influence of Mahatma Gandhi so that he takes the plunge into nationalist activity and courts imprisonment. The documents in this volume are of interest in that they both portray the development of Jawaharlal Nehru's mind and personality and, in the broader context, cast fresh light on India's struggle for freedom. They are a contribution to personal as well as to national history.

In editing these documents the method, whereby the footnotes are tied to the document and not to the page, has been followed. This has the advantage that the pagination can be altered, if necessary, in later editions without any inconvenience.

Most of the documents included in this volume are in English. Where, however, the original is in Hindi or any other language, a translation has been given; and this has been indicated in a footnote.

In the first section, covering the early years, only those letters, or extracts from them, which add to our understanding of Jawaharlal Nehru have been included. The rest of the correspondence of these years is available for consultation in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

Where any part of a document is missing, this has been made clear by asterisks. If a portion was deleted by the official censor when Jawaharlal Nehru was in prison, this is shown by crosses. Editorial omissions are indicated by dots. Where a document is incomplete, this is mentioned in a footnote.

Biographical and explanatory footnotes have been provided where it was thought that they would be helpful to the reader. In deciding whether such footnotes were required, the Indian reader has been borne specially in mind. There is, for example, no footnote on Mahatma Gandhi; any such footnote would have been clearly pedantic.

The current spelling of Indian place-names is given in the footnotes, but the spelling of the time has been retained in the text.

The task of preparing the Selected Works for publication is greatly facilitated by the care Jawaharlal Nehru himself took to maintain his papers in a methodical manner. It was a life packed with work and

incident, and, at least till 1947, it was an unsettled and disturbed life. He was rarely at home and often in prison. Yet he kept and generally arranged his papers with a sharp sense of order and significance.

This project has been made possible only by the generosity of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who has granted unrestricted access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and permitted the publication in the Selected Works of his letters, diaries and other writings.

We are most grateful to Shrimati Padmaja Naidu, Vice-Chairman, and Dr. Karan Singh, Secretary, of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund for the guidance and support they have given at every stage.

Acknowledgement is due to the National Archives of India, the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya and the Uttar Pradesh Government for permission to include material. The late Dr. Syed Mahmud and Shri Jamal Khwaja were good enough to authorise us to include a number of letters in their possession. Permission has been granted to us to reproduce material from the *Aaj*, *The Bombay Chronicle*, *The Leader* and *The Tribune*. Asia Publishing House kindly allowed us to reprint three letters already published in *A Bunch of Old Letters*.

The Director and staff of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library have given us the fullest cooperation.

We express our thanks to the very many who have assisted us in preparing the footnotes.

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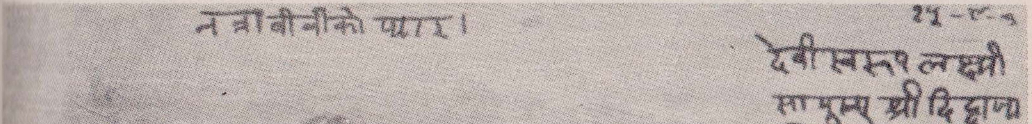
EARLY YEARS



POSTCARDS SENT TO HIS MOTHER 25 FEBRUARY AND 15 SEPTEMBER 1903.

SWARUP RANI NEHRU.
A photograph taken in 1912.

1. To Mother[1]

Allahabad
25.2.1903

My dear and respected mother,[2]
Thank you very much for your letter.
With namaskars and love,

Jawahar

P.S. This picture[3] is of Calcutta bridge.

1. Original in Hindi.
This and all the other letters in this section are from the Jawaharlal Nehru Correspondence in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi — referred to hereafter as N.M.M.L.
2. Swarup Rani Nehru (1868-1938); wife of Motilal Nehru. She also took part in the noncooperation movement and was the victim of a lathi-charge in 1932.
3. This picture postcard is the first letter written by Jawaharlal which has survived. He was then 14. The picture was that of Howrah Bridge.

2. To Mother[1]

Srinagar
15.9.03

My dear Mother,
This is to inform you that we are all well here. Hope you are well too.
Please show this picture to Nanni[2] and give her my love.

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Original in Hindi.
2. Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit (b. 1900); sister of Jawaharlal; m. R. S. Pandit (d. 1944); imprisoned several times in the noncooperation movement; Minister, U.P. Government, 1937-39 and 1946; Ambassador in Moscow, 1947-49; Ambassador in Washington, 1949-52; President, U.N. General Assembly, 1953-54; High Commissioner in London, 1954-61; Governor of Maharashtra, 1962-64.

3. To Mother[1]

Highgate
July 1, 1905

My dear Mother,
I was happy to receive your letter. I am quite well. You need not worry about me at all. I have not yet met Birju Bhai,[2] but I shall see him in a day or two. He should have finished his examinations today. He will come here day after tomorrow. He has taken rooms which are quite near our place. Here the weather these days is very fine, neither too cold nor too hot.

I received a postcard from Nanni. Her photograph is very much like her. Love and kisses to her from me.

Namaskars and love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Original in Hindi. Extracts.
2. Brijlal Nehru (1884-1965); son of Nandlal Nehru and first cousin of Jawaharlal. At this time he was a student at Oxford. Brijlal Nehru served in the Indian Finance Department till his retirement in 1939. His wife Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru was a well-known social worker and received the Lenin Peace Prize in 1961.

4. To Father[1]

July 25, 1905

Your lovely postcards[2] to hand. I like them very much. I hope you will keep any postcards you receive and give them to me when you come here. Nothing fresh has happened.

Love to all.

Yours affly.
Jawahar

1. This postcard to his father, Motilal Nehru, was posted in London.
Motilal Nehru (1861-1931); leading advocate of Allahabad High Court; president of the Congress 1919 and 1928; joined the noncooperation movement 1920 and served several terms of imprisonment; founder, with C. R. Das, of the Swaraj Party and leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly 1924-26.
2. Jawaharlal is referring to a series of picture postcards of Congress leaders sent by Motilal. Among them was one of Romesh Chandra Dutt. Motilal captioned it, 'future Jawaharlal Nehru'.

5. To Father

The Head Master's
Harrow
20th Oct, 1905

My dear Father,

According to your instructions I begin this letter now and shall continue it throughout the week. I wrote a very short letter to you this morning and sent it. But I had forgotten to write the date and suddenly remembered it at the last moment. As I was very anxious that something should reach you at Port Said, I scribbled through the letter as fast as I could. Besides, nothing worth noting had happened within the last two days. I hope the letter caught the mail and you received it.

Your wire from Marseilles came this morning. My name had been mis-spelt and it went round some part of the house before I got it.

There were matches again today between the houses and I played no footer[1].

A big lecture was given here tonight on Trafalgar, but unfortunately I missed it. I knew that there was to be something but when or where it was to be I had not the least idea. The consequence was that I went on working whilst all the others went away to the lecture.

21st Oct.

I discovered today that my not attending the lecture last night was quite a serious affair and that it might lead to unpleasant results. Nothing has yet happened, however, and I hope my absence was overlooked. We had the same number of classes today as we had on Founder's day and were free for the rest of the day.

I played, or at least tried to play footer today. I had another shave this morning and had myself photographed. I ought not to have shaved so soon but I wanted to look quite clean shaven to be photographed. It will be some time before I shave next.

22nd Oct.

I received your loving letter from Marseilles this morning. I had begun to fear that you hadn't written from there but I was amply satisfied with your dear letter. Harrow agrees with me quite well and I would get on swimmingly with it, but for your not being here. This puts a jarring note to my every work and enjoyment. My dear father, how I wish to be near you again. I wish the days would pass quicker and bring the happy day when I shall see you again.

1. Football.

The group has been repaired and is, at present, hanging in front of me. I like everybody's picture in it except my own. My moustache is all awry and it spoils the whole look of the face. I have put yours, Birju Bhai's and dear mother's picture on the table too. Besides I have got several nice pictures, an electric table lamp and several other articles. My room is beginning to look quite nice and cosy. It is quite large enough for me and, really, I don't know what I would do with a larger one.

We are allowed to have fires in the daytime now and they make the rooms nice and warm. The only difficult part is lighting it but once that is done it burns on till it is put out. My fireplace is better than most others and draws in beautifully. The only defect with this room is that the window does not close well and there is a constant draught. But I don't mind it when the room is warm.

We had to pay our subscriptions today. They all amounted to a little over * * * * * * * I could have easily paid them but the head of the house told me that it was the custom for boys to go up to Pope[2] and ask him for an order for the amount. I thought I might as well conform to the custom and went up to him, but he told me that you had given him no authorisation to pay me. So I went up and paid the subs myself.

I have been very busy for the last two or three days and have had no time to write. I was 'boy'[3] again day-before-yesterday. Besides lighting fires and carrying messages I had to turn on toshes[4] for sixth formers after footer. My fagging finished last Saturday and except for the day when I was 'boy' I was free for the rest of the week. * * * * * * * bill in hall a couple of days ago. I haven't got used to it yet and I quite forgot about it. I went up immediately after to Pope but was told that I had to learn 20 lines of poetry by heart.

I have been playing footer on half-holidays only and on the other days there have been matches.

My uniform came in time for Wednesday. I was expecting to have a brand new one but they have sent me a second, third, fourth or which hand one I don't know. The trowsers [sic] and a few other small things are new and all the rest has been well used. Everybody else has got one like that and so I thought it was useless to make objections. I am getting on well with my work. I have been sent up from my drawing division though this was more through the fault of a boy who was sent down and whose place I took than from any

2. Presumably one of the masters.
3. Fag.
4. School slang meaning a bath or a foot-pan.

brilliancy on my part. We had a sort of exam on the period of History we had gone through and on my being successful in it I had an extra three quarters of an hour free. On Saturday we will have an exam in mathematics.

I have joined the Chess Club here. I hope you won't mind this as it is really no waste of time. We only play chess on Saturday nights and it will be a diversion from the other things.

It is getting late now and I have my work for tomorrow morning to do. I was almost forgetting to write that we had singing again yesterday. It was much the same as it was the first time. I was fortunate enough to get nothing to sing though I nearly got one. Goodbye now till next week.

With love,

from your ever loving son
Jawahar

I am enclosing a letter which must have been sent to me by mistake.

6. To Mother[1]

The Head Master's
Harrow
Nov. 24, 1905

My dear Mother,
Many days ago I received your letter from Bombay. I hope you reached Allahabad safely and have written to me in detail about it. On my birthday[2] I carried out as far as possible the instructions you had given me verbally or in your letter. Fortunately, I received just the previous afternoon all the clothes which father got made for me and wore them on my birthday.

It is very cold here and getting colder everyday. Two days ago, when I went for a walk, I found a few ponds frozen. Now hardly a month is left before the vacation starts.

I do not remember anything else worth mentioning.

Love to dear Nanni.

With much love and respect,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Original in Hindi.
2. 14 November.

7. To Father

The Head Master's
Harrow
11th Dec. 1905

My dear Father,

Your letter with the joyful news of a new arrival[1] in the family. I didn't expect to hear it till another month or so and it came quite as a surprise. It is a curious coincidence, perhaps something more, that he was born on my birthday. I little thought then that an addition had been made to our family. You ask me to suggest a name for him. My vocabulary of Indian names is very limited and I can't think of any appropriate one. I am sure your choice will be the best one. Birju Bhai tells me that Hiralal is a probable one. I don't like this at all and I hope you don't either.

I thought I explained to you the difference between divisions and forms some weeks ago. Divisions are quite independent of, and separate from, forms. There are divisions in Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, French Prose, Drawing and several other things in the Higher School. Now if some new boy is specially good in Mathematics but doesn't know much Latin or French, he gets in a high Arithmetic division but in a low form. If, again, he is sent to a higher div. in the same Term he remains in the same form. Of course at the end of the term this counts in his favour and may enable him to go into a higher form.

There are no German divs in the lower schools. We have only one hour a week for it and even then we do very little. In the higher school we can either take up German or Science and I think you would prefer me to take the latter. However I am not going to get in the Fifth Form for a long time yet and I needn't be in a hurry to make a choice.

Our trials have been on for several days and I have done fairly well in most papers. The only two, so far, which I have done badly in are Scripture and Latin Composition. I had over a hundred pages of the former to learn and inspite of my exertions I could know very little of them. All the others have got an advantage over me in this as I never did Scripture before. They do so very little Latin here that I forgot even what I knew. I could have easily done the paper at the beginning of the term when I came fresh from my Latin coach,

1. A boy was born on 14 November 1905 and died on 2 December 1905.

but now it was with difficulty that I did a part of it. The other subjects in which we have been examined are Algebra, French translation, Geometry and English. All of these I have done fairly well, some better than all the others in our Form. The Trials finish on Saturday morning and from then to Tuesday we have nothing to do.

Birju Bhai again came here last Saturday and spent the afternoon with me. Shridhar's[2] term ended several days ago and I think he is now in London, staying with Birju Bhai.

It is rather strange and I am myself astonished at my not having had a "real" fight yet. Of course skirmishes we have about everyday. As for friendship I have as yet failed to find a Desmond and see no indications pointing to it.

14 Dec.

Only four days left of this term but practically less than two days of work. The other subjects in which we have been examined are Latin translation, French composition, Arithmetic, Geography, German and History. In these too I have done pretty well.

I first thought that I might get a double remove and so be in the Upper Shell next term but I have changed my opinion now. It will be by the merest chance that I get there. I shall probably be sent to the Modern Lower Shell.

One of the masters died a day or two ago and his funeral took place today. The service took place in chapel and attendance to it was voluntary.

We had a heat wave some days ago and it was almost warm but now it is again cold.

With best wishes for a happy New Year and love.

Your loving son
Jawahar

2. Shridhar Nehru (1886-1967); son of Bansidhar Nehru and first cousin of Jawaharlal. Educated at Cambridge and Heidelburg, he joined the Indian Civil Service in 1913 and served in the United Provinces. He was a noted linguist, writer and scholar.

8. To Father[1]

The Head Master's
Harrow
16-12-1905

My dear Father,

I was much surprised at not receiving your letter this morning. I would have thought that the mails had come late but for the fact that I got a letter from India. The only conclusion I could draw was that your letter had been posted too late. It never occurred to me that you might have sent it to Highgate. And so I had quite given up hope when I got it this evening.

The news about baby's health was most distressing to hear. I am very glad he is getting better and hope the improvement will continue. Still I am very anxious and am eagerly waiting for your next for better news of mother and baby.

I have no objection to the names chosen by you for baby, in fact they are rather nice ones. I never really seem to like Indian names till I get used to them.

Today the "Cock-house"[1] match took place. It was hotly contested and the description in the Hill[2] might almost apply to it. It is such a pity to think that we have not been cock-house for over a dozen years. Before that time it was a practical certainty every year that we would win. And now in about every game we are behind the other houses and even in studies we make a poor show. In the other houses you can leave anything you like without any danger of its being taken whilst here nothing is safe. Some houses won't take any one in unless he has already distinguished himself in either studies or sports and consequently they are always first in everything.

17-12-05

Our marks and order were read out in form today. I was first in Trials and also in the Term's work.

I have been packing all the afternoon and evening as the boxes go tomorrow morning. We are alowed to leave Harrow in our ordinary clothes and so I am leaving my etons behind.

1. Contest between the various houses in the school. The victorious house was known as the 'cock-house'.
2. Presumably a story about public schools.

18th Dec. 05

We went to Speecher this morning and our final order, that is add-in the trials to the term's work, was read out by Dr. Wood.[3] I was of course top of my form and I am told that a prize will be given to me. I had never thought of this happening and am rather nervous about it. The most that occurred to me was that I might get a small prize in the headmaster's study privately, but not in Speech Room in the midst of all the people.

Tomorrow morning we can go at any time after 7 but I don't think I shall go so early. Our holiday task is a historical novel—"Holmby House"—dealing with the Civil War, the period of history we have been studying.

I have been to Speecher and have received a prize. I wasn't quite sure whether I would get it to the very end and when Dr. Wood called out my name I felt very confused. He gave me the book with the usual formula of congratulation. The prize is Lamb's "Essays of Elia" very nicely bound together.

Out of the two boys who tried for scholarships at Oxford only one succeeded and so we won't have an extra week's holiday.

There was a house supper tonight at which Dr. Wood, Mrs. Wood and Miss Wood were present.

Highgate
22nd Dec. 1905

The holidays have commenced and I am back again here. It is very dull here having nothing to do and I wish more than ever to be in old Anand Bhawan again. During my first stay here it was different as I was working hard and had little time to think about India and our home. At Harrow too the same thing was the case. It takes over an hour to go to Birju Bhai's place by train. I went to him day before yesterday and had lunch with him.

Great preparations are being made for Christmas here.

With love,

from your ever loving son
Jawahar

The next term begins on the 24th January.

3. Rev. Joseph Wood (1842-1921); Headmaster of Harrow, 1898-1910. Jawaharlal was in his house.

9. To Father

Highgate
3rd Jan. 1906

My dear Father,

The year 1905 did not pass away mildly without having any real cold weather. On its last day, the 31st December, we experienced the coldest day we have had this winter. The fickleness of the English climate was strongly brought forward as the night before had been warm and comfortable. The day broke drearily with a fog enveloping us and occasional showers of rain. As I went out in the morning the cutting winds went right through me, in spite of my warm clothing, and almost paralysed me. Specially my hands and feet were quite frozen and I could hardly move them about. Still the sensation was not altogether unpleasant. The first day of the New Year was also cold, though not as much as the day before. But there was another sudden change on the next day and it became warm and damp. Today it was cold in the morning but now it is again warm. And so, I suppose, it will go on, no one knowing what will come next.

I was delighted to receive your new year cards and thank you very much for them. I too would have sent some to you but I had little time then at Harrow and my choice was very limited there. Thanks too for the £20. I was badly in need of them.

I am very glad to know that mother is progressing and hope she was well enough to go to Benares and see the exhibition.[1]

I didn't see any school calendar at Harrow but there is sure to be something corresponding to it. I shall look for it next term.

You didn't write to me before about the Bernards[2] and Mr. Chakravarti's[3] children going to France. I am sure I would be very pleased to go with Mr. Keightley[4] to their place. Besides the pleasure of their company it would much improve my French.

1. Opened on 25 December 1905 to demonstrate the variety and quality of *swadeshi* (indigenous) goods.
2. It has not been possible to identify this family.
3. Dr. Gyanendranath Chakravarti (d. 1936); was from a Bengali family settled in U.P. After holding the chair of mathematics at Allahabad University, he was Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University from 1920 to 1926. He was a theosophist and a friend of Mrs. Besant. His children were educated in France.
4. Bertram Keightley (1860-1944); a devoted English follower of Madame Blavatsky.

As I found that all my letters sent to Harrow were being redirected to 18 Southwell Gardens, I wrote to Dr. Wood's Secretary and told him my address. A day or two later I was much surprised to get my report and my bill for the last term. I am rather glad they made this mistake and sent them here as I can look through them now and you needn't take the trouble of sending the report to me. The only thing worth noting in my report is that I was second in form work alone, excluding mathematics. The boy who was first had the same marks, or even less, than me in most subjects but in Scripture he got many more and just managed to get ahead of me, in the total, by one mark. I had 99 to his 100.

In the bill the one thing which struck me most was the doctor's charge. He only saw my leg once and then twice asked me how it was getting along. The chief things in the tailor's bill are footer clothes and pieces of my uniform. His charges are as great as those of any good London tailor. There are some other small charges which ought not to be made. For instance, no one is going to bathe in ducker[5] in mid-winter, when perhaps the surface of the water would be frozen, and we are not allowed to go into the Vaughan library, though they charge for it in the bill.

I was very surprised to read in the *Times* a few days ago that the "Swadeshi" movement[6] had spread to Kashmir and that the Kashmiris had bought up, by public subscription, all the English sugar and burnt it. The movement must be strong indeed if it has reached even the Kashmiris. I would never have thought of it.

I have asked several people and every one told me that it was impossible to practise cricket now. Even in the next holiday the ground would not be good enough. So in the absence of other exercise I occasionally go to skate in a rink here.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

5. The swimming pool.
6. The Swadeshi movement for the promotion of indigenous industries gained prominence in the agitation against the partition of Bengal and later was adopted by the Congress under Mahatma Gandhi.

10. To Mother[1]

Headmaster's House
Harrow
March 7, 1906

My dear Mother,

Last week things turned out as I had hoped. I received two letters, each from you and father. One of them should have come earlier but was posted late. I was extremely sorry to learn that Nanni started crying on not getting my letter. In future, I shall send her three post-cards every week. Why is she getting weaker? Is she taking care of herself? Since I came to know about it from your letter, I have been rather worried. Write to me about it in detail soon. She should be looked after properly, as she is not very strong. Give my love to her.

I learned that Swamiji[2] is coming here but I don't think Jivan Bhai[3] is also coming.

I was very happy to learn that you had met Bua[4]. You remember that before I came here, father had sent me to see her. Misunderstandings in a family are troublesome and lead us nowhere.

I am sending you my photograph in uniform. I hope you will like it.

I was very sorry to learn that Anand Bhawan is going to be sold. Having stayed there for such a long time, I had grown attached to it and now I would not like to shift to some other house.[5]

So far I have not received Nukl[6] etc. I hope to get it next week. Thank you very much for sending me all these things.

As regards Nanni's money about which you have asked, I do not remember much. It was deposited along with my money in the Savings Bank. And later all the money was withdrawn, and was then either deposited in some other bank along with mine or was spent.

The little spot on my head has disappeared.

It is not so cold here. The weather is fine.

1. Original in Hindi.
2. A saintly person, highly esteemed by Shrimati Swarup Rani Nehru's family.
3. Jivanlal Katju (1888-1966); son of Ratanlal Katju and cousin of Jawaharlal.
4. Shrimati Nandrani Nehru, wife of Nandlal Nehru.
5. In 1906 Motilal Nehru received an offer for Anand Bhawan. He was willing to negotiate a sale and build a smaller house, but his wife and son were opposed to the idea, and nothing came of it.
6. A kind of sweet.

You say that I have not replied about Nirdhar Nath Ji[7], about whom you had written. I do not remember what you wrote about him.

Love to dear Nanni.

From your loving son
Jawahar

7 Raja Narendra Nath, a Kashmiri resident in Lahore and father of Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru.

11. To Father

Headmaster's House,
Harrow
May 4th, 1906

My dear Father,

I didn't remember that today was mail-day or I would have written to you last night. I have got very little time now and can only write a few lines.

I came back day before yesterday and found that I had got the same room again. At the end of last term I was told that I would most probably have another room and so I hadn't given any instructions for its being re-papered.

This morning the headmaster read out the forms. As I thought I was put in *MR-2*. No one has ever had, as far as I know, a double from *MS-1* to *MR-1*. There are special forms from which doubles can be got and among these are *MIV-1, MS-2, MR-2*. It is more likely that I may get into *MV-3* next term than my getting into *MR-1* this term was.[1]

I was much amused to hear about the letter which Birju Bhabi sent to Master Joe. I remember Wood asking if I was called Joe at home. I wisl you would send me the letter which shocked him so much.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. MR-2, MS-1, M.IV, etc., represent terms of gradation which were used at Harrow school, meaning 'Middle Remove', 'Middle Senior 1', 'Middle Four', etc.

12. To Father

Headmaster's House,
Harrow
Dec. 6, 1906

My dear Father,
We have just had a fire alarm, although it wasn't a real one for we were informed beforehand when it was going to take place. It was just to see if the escapes worked well and to familiarise everyone with them. Almost everyone seemed to like the idea and came down repeatedly by them. One of these escapes was from a window of the top storey and the sensation when one came down from there was almost exactly like that of the latter end of a water-chute. I went down it quite a number of times with the result that I got a slight pain all over my body and a headache too from bumps received whilst coming down.

The Trials have begun in right earnest. I had two of them today, Trigonometry and Practical Chemistry, and in neither of them did I do very well. In the former perhaps I did as well as was to be expected as ours is the lowest division doing the papers. This was my first term at Trigonometry here and my absence for a fortnight handicapped me very much. For that was about the only time they did Trig., afterwards Algebra and Arithmetic took up most of the time. In Mathematics there are two papers set, one for the first five divisions and the other for the rest. Uptil now I had to do the second one and of course it was a very easy one. This term I shall get the other. I wonder how I shall fare with it.

I am glad you are learning to handle and drive a car. I think the most enjoyable part of motoring must be the driving the car oneself. I wish I had seen your car when I was in Paris. As it is I may not have a chance for years. However, I hope you will send me a photo of yourself in the car. By the by you haven't got it all too soon. What with the *Daily Mail* prize of £ 10,000 and dozens of other prizes, everyone seems to be cocksure that aeroplanes will be as common in a few years, as motorcars are now. I actually saw, the other day, an advertisement of a firm who undertook to build aeroplanes for people! I hope you will have time to use your car before the aeroplane craze sets in. And then perhaps when I am at the Varsity, it is too much to hope for it before then, I may have the pleasure of seeing you on weekends.

Everything seems at last settled about our arrangements for the hols. I am of course to stay in Paris and Mr. Chatterji[1] had arranged for Birju Bhai to go to Rouen but he doesn't approve of this very much, as the place is too far from Paris. Shridhar too is going to France for his vac. He will probably go to Dieppe. I know nothing as yet about Jivan. Nor do I think that he himself knows anything about it. At least he was quite undecided a short time ago, wavering between Grantham and Paris.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Jagdish Chatterji, the son-in-law of Dr. G. N. Chakravarti.

13. To Father

London
18.1.07

My dear Father,

Your letter from Calcutta. I was very sorry to hear that the Congress wasn't success.[1] I am impatiently waiting for your next to know the result of the proceedings. I do hope the different parties worked smoothly together and there were no dissensions among the delegates. A most foolish thing this seems to me, for, not only do they do no good to themselves but they do harm to the country they both pretend to serve. There couldn't have been any great difference or disagreement among the delegates, as our friends the Anglo-Indians would hardly have failed to wire the fact over here.

There isn't much news to give you this week. I go back to Harrow next Wednesday and you will get my next from there.

We have been going to a number of theatres since I came back from Paris. Two of the plays were Shakespeare's. "Antony & Cleopatra" at His Majesty's was not at all a success, in my opinion at least. Other people didn't seem to find it so for it was quite full. "Macbeth" at the Garrick was better. In France I went to see a French translation of "Julius Caesar" and it was more amusing than anything else. I don't think the actors were quite sure whether it was a pantomime or a tragedy.

1. The Calcutta Congress of 1906 achieved little because the Moderates and Extremists could reach no agreement on a boycott of British goods.

I suppose you must have heard about the Edalji case[2] and the new phase it has taken here. Whole pages are being devoted to it in some of the papers—and you know what a page of a newspaper is here. The poor chap must have been quite innocent and I am sure he was convicted simply and solely because he was an Indian. Conan Doyle has stepped into the ranks now and his pardon is fairly certain.

The weather here is very mild compared to the days we had about Christmas and the New Year. A pretty dense fog is surrounding us at present. It is almost the first good fog we have had for months. I have got to sally forth into it in a short time to meet Birju Bhai at a place in town.

With love,

from your ever loving son

Jawahar

2. George Edalji of Birmingham, solicitor and son of an Anglican clergyman of Parsi descent, was sentenced to penal servitude on the charge of maiming cattle. There was an agitation in Britain and in India to procure a free pardon for him, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle undertook a minute examination of the case in the *Daily Telegraph*. Edalji was released in 1906 but without exoneration or compensation, so the agitation continued.

14. To Father

Harrow
30-1-07

My dear Father,

I have been here for a whole week now and still I haven't had a single lesson in the Caesar. Such is luck! I arranged about my specials as soon as I could and if nothing untoward had happened I would have had at least two lessons by this time. The first time the house was locked and I couldn't get an exeat to be let out of the house—for you know the house is kept locked up during the evenings. I couldn't go to Dr. Wood at the time as he was having dinner and the result of all this was that I had to cut my specials. The second time it wasn't my fault. I went up to the house of the person with whom I take specials but found to my disappointment that he had been obliged to go out. Tomorrow I go again. I wonder what will happen then. I am only having three lessons a week. There is not time at all left for any more. Last night I got a letter from Fletcher,[1] the Trinity tutor. It was just like the letter you had brought. I think I shall see Wood soon about it.

1. Sir Walter Fletcher (1873-1933); Senior tutor and lecturer in natural sciences at Trinity College, Cambridge.

IN ENGLAND, 1906.

Standing : (Left to right)

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, JIVAN LAL KATJU, SHRIDHAR NEHRU

Sitting : (Left to right)

BRIJLAL NEHRU, MOTILAL NEHRU, KRISHANLAL NEHRU

MOTILAL NEHRU AT THE DELHI DURBAR, 1911.

I didn't have any doubts about my getting a remove this term as the combined place is always taken and I was 3rd in that. As a matter of fact even my form place would have done for seven got their remove.

In the school report the only subject in which I am supposed to be bad in, excepting of course the Old Testament, is Latin. I suppose this means Latin Composition for I did rather well in the translations. Even the form master remarked that I had done well in them. But I am quite hopeless at Latin composition and I do not see any chance of improving at it whilst I am here. We do it for about three quarters of an hour every week and then we just have to translate some English into Latin. Sometimes one gets one's paper back with the mistakes underlined. As for the German it was not difficult last term and I was easily top of my div.

My divs. in various subjects are good this term. In Trig I am in the 4th div, one above last term's and in Geometry I am in the 3rd div., four divs above last term's. I think I wrote to you last time that we have got divs for French too now, that is not only for French Prose but for all other French things we do too. They are rather curiously numbered, mine being 2a. I think it is the third or fourth from top. In the new system I am about 3 divs above many who were as many divs above me last term in French Prose. So I suppose I must have done well.

I am glad you have cancelled your order for the motor car though I am afraid it is too late for that now. They said that they would deliver the car by the 10th of February when I was there. The best plan is after all to get a ready made one and take it with you to India.

The weather has been mild this week. We had heavy frost for some days and many people were going to get their skates. Even I was thinking of writing for them but the very next day the thaw set in.

Our zealous footer captain has formulated a new rule about Torpids. Every one who has not been here two Easter terms, excluding this one, will be counted as a Torpid and will have to play throughout the term. He won't be allowed to play in the matches as that would be a breach of school rules. I strongly objected to this and so did several others. We went up to the housemaster about it but he only said that he would think about it. He always does this and never seems to come to a decision. In the meantime I have bowed to fate and play every day. I rather enjoy the games but the idea that I have got to play whether I want to or not makes me dislike them. And sometimes I want to go out for runs instead.

Now I think I have written to you all about our doings here. The

only remaining thing is that wretched marriage business.[2] I had purposely left it till the end as I wanted to get rid of the other things first. At present I have no time but there is still a day and a half before the mail goes and I shall find time to write before that.

I have now got to prepare some work for my French div, which is, by the way, the third.

1-2-07

Last night I went to my Latin specials and did some satisfactory work. I have now arranged for another hour, bringing up the number of lessons to four times a week.

Now as to my future happiness. I must have expressed myself very clumsily and given you quite wrong notions of my attitude which I never meant to. This is all I can make out by your last letter. First of all I must tell you that I was influenced by no person on that occasion. Birju Bhabi[3] has not written to me for months and even in her letters the subject is hardly ever mentioned. Of course I often see Birju Bhai and we sometimes talk about it. And then I get many letters from India in which the subject is discussed and the writer gives his or her opinion on it. I do not pretend to say that all those have no effect on me whatever. It would be foolish to say so. I suppose every one of them influences me very slightly in one direction or the other. But this kind of "influencing" is hardly perceptible and it is difficult to know exactly when it comes. So I except this when I say that I was biased by no one.

The first thing which strikes me is the underlined part in your letter, that "it is most tiring and annoying not to know what is going to happen etc" and "I cannot rest till something is done." By this I did not mean that I wanted to be engaged as soon as possible. On the contrary I had a vague dread that I might suddenly hear that this had happened. I didn't like this at all and it made me feel rather uncomfortable. Now that I have your assurance that this won't happen I am perfectly satisfied. I am very sorry to have given you the impression that I didn't completely rely on your judgment in the matter. You of course know much more about the persons concerned than I do and are far better qualified to make a choice. I only gave you my opinion because you asked me for it. I knew hardly any more about them than what you had written and it was on those facts alone that I gave my opinion. You know more about both sides and can improve upon it.

I wasn't aware of the fact that there was a large field of selection.

2. His marriage took place on 8 February 1916.
3. Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru.

I have been repeatedly told that there were only two and I think you yourself said so in one of your letters. However it is all the better that it is so and I wish you all success in your endeavours to find a "real gem".

As for looks, who can help not feeling keen enjoyment at the sight of a beautiful creature? And I think you are quite right in saying that the outer features generally take after the inner person. And yet sometimes this is not the case. Beauty is after all skin-deep and without certain other qualities would be more harmful than beneficial.

There is very little time left now and I have to write at least two more letters. This has been written at odd moments snatched from work now and then. I hope you will not find it too scrappy. I got off footer today specially to write this.

With love,

from your ever loving son
Jawahar

15. To Father

Harrow
Feb. 8, 1907

My dear Father,
I am so very glad to hear that you are going to be the president of the Provincial Conference,[1] for I am sure you must have accepted the offer. I can think of no possible reason for your not doing so. However much you disagree with the details of the Congress programme you cannot but agree with its general aim. I do not see why you dislike the "oily" babus.[2] Their erratic methods have made me respect them far more than I ever did. Of course they are often wrong and do things which they ought not to do but the very fact that they have the courage to do them is something far better than the inert condition

1. Presiding over the first Provincial Conference of the United Provinces on 28 March 1907, Motilal said "I firmly believe that he (John Bull) means well, it is not in his nature to mean ill." He also opposed the policy of boycott.
2. Motilal Nehru had in his letter to Jawaharlal of 27 December 1906, referred to the Bengali nationalists at the Calcutta Congress of 1906, as "oily" babus. 'The real tug of war is to come this evening at the Subjects Committee where the extremists are going to give formal notice to the British Government to quit and hand over the reins of Government to the "oily" babus. If this resolution is agreed to be adopted I have prepared the United Provinces to disclaim it publicly. Madras will vote solid against it. Bombay is in overwhelming majority and the Central Provinces and the Punjab in decent majorities. But there are so many of the Bengal people that they outnumber all of us put together.'

of our province. It is practically owing to them that the people here have begun to take some interest in India. It is not very much, I know, but still it is better than nothing. The papers gave a fairly prominent place to the proceedings of the Congress and some of them had leaders on it. Your address is certain to be a very brilliant one in every respect, only I hope it will not be too moderate. Indians are as a rule too much so and require a little stirring up. You may not agree with the ways of the new Extremist Party[3] but I do not think you are such a slow and steady sort of person as you make yourself out to be. At least that is the impression you gave me from what you said at Mussoorie.

We have been having a good deal of frost and there has been a lot of skating. About a week ago we had heavy frost after comparatively mild weather. Another day's frost would have made the ice perfect for skating and in anticipation of this a competition was arranged and prizes were to be given for skating. But on the following night it thawed and made matters worse. So it has been going on since then, the frost and thaw coming by turns. Yesterday the ice was in fairly good condition and in addition to its being a half-holiday we got off an hour and a half's work for skating. Most of the people went to Ruislip, a place nearby, with a beautiful stretch of water. I didn't feel inclined to go so far and besides this I thought it would be too crowded there and I didn't want to make an exhibition of my fine skating. Instead, I went with two other boys for a run and we took our skates with us. After some time we came across a large pond and we had a delightful time over it. It was rather a risky business as the ice was not thick enough at places but we went on it all the same. The ice cracked like anything and gave way completely at places but we managed to return unharmed. By the time we had done with the pond it was full of large cracks and holes. Even if any one of us had gone completely in, he would only have had a cold bath.

Today there is skating in ducker for the Upper School only. I should rather have liked to go but then I wouldn't have had any time for this letter. If the frost holds, there is a chance of our having a whole holiday tomorrow. Unfortunately I cannot skate very well. You saw me trying to do so at the rink at Mussoorie and know how good I am. But on ice I can skate somewhat better.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

3. The group in the Congress under the leadership of Lajpat Rai, Tilak and Bepin Pal, which preferred self-reliant methods to representations.

16. To Father

Harrow
Feb. 14, 1907

My dear Father,

I was almost sure that you would accept the offer of the presidentship but still I was glad to be made quite certain about it by your last letter. I am sure you will be as successful in the "new line" you are taking up, as you have been in other fields. You have already kept away from it too long but that I hope will only add a new zest to it. I do not think the students of Allahabad will be disappointed in you. I am sorry to hear that they are getting rowdy. Rowdyism of course is a most undesirable thing and yet it smacks of the West and shows a certain amount of independence.

I wonder what the reference to India in the King's speech[1] means. The Unionist press views it with dislike, and that is a hopeful sign.

On the very day I got your last letter I went to Wood and talked to him about my going to Cambridge. He simply expressed surprise that I could manage to get into a 'Varsity so soon. He gave me the certificate of character without any difficulty. When I pointed out to him that he had not known me for quite two years yet, he said that it didn't matter much. The same day I sent all the forms duly filled up with a cheque of £20 to Fletcher, the Trinity tutor. I received a receipt for the money some days ago but haven't heard anything about the rest. So I conclude that I was quite in time in sending the application.

I have to do no French in Part I or Part II of the Little Go.[2] In the Additional Subjects there is a choice of three : Mechanics, French and German. Of these German is out of the question for me and so the choice lies between the two former ones. I can appear for either of the two in June next with Part II but it isn't necessary to do so. I can study for them and appear for them later on after joining the Varsity. It would be better if I got through them beforehand and I have half a mind to try to do so. At any rate there is not much harm in trying for it. It wouldn't affect my entering the college even if I did not succeed in the Additional Subject. I haven't as yet decided which to take. Mechanics, I think, would be the easier for me.

1. The Liberal Government, in the King's speech from the throne, on 12 February 1907, referred to India : "while firmly guarding the strength and unity of executive power uninjured, I look forward to a steadfast effort to provide means of widening the base of peace, order and good government by the vast population committed to my charge."
2. The first public examination at Cambridge.

In French, there are two set books and besides I would have to polish up my French generally. I shan't decide anything about this till I hear from you. There is no hurry as I have to get through Part I first.

No importance is attached to the fortnightly placings but they serve to show approximately the place during the rest of the term. I have not at all been exerting myself in the form work or the other subjects here and yet I am not so low as one would expect. I was third in form and my tique[3] div. and first in the geometry div. French counts a lot and in that I was rather low. But the fact of my being in a high div. pulled me up. In form I beat both the chaps who were above me last term. This was solely due to my French.

I have had a double change in tutors this term. My last term's tutor has left the school and I was consequently transferred to another person. This gentleman went to Uganda during the holidays and has returned from there with some sort of disease. He is at present dangerously ill. So there was another change of tutor.

A few days' rain has put an end to all prospects of skating this winter.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

3. Trigonometry.

17. To Father

London
28. 3. 07

My dear Father,

The conference will probably have begun by this time and you must be very busy. I am eagerly awaiting your inaugural address. Your last letter was a short one but I need no apology for it. I know how busy you must be and how very little time you must have for letters. And I wouldn't like you to spend too much time in writing to me to the detriment of your address.

I came from Harrow day before yesterday and am staying with the Tanners[1] — where else could I stay? This afternoon I go to Bourne-

1. The family of a clergyman with whom Motilal Nehru had arranged for his son to spend the vacation.

mouth, where I shall meet Birju Bhai and Jivan. There, or some other place, I shall spend the greater part of my vac. I am determined not to be in London longer than is absolutely necessary. Neither Shridhar nor Kishan Bhai[2] could join us and it seemed at first that we would have to be a party of two. At length we persuaded Jivan to come with us. I have not met him since he came over with you to Harrow and I rather wanted to see him.

I haven't heard the result of the Little Go yet. It is near the end of the week now and Fletcher said the result would be out sometime in the beginning of this week. I have little doubt of my not getting through but still I should like to make sure.

I got your cheque for £ 25 long ago and thought that I had acknowledged it. Sorry to have forgotten to do so. I only cashed it some time before going to Cambridge. Summer seems to have set in here too in earnest. There has not been an unpleasant day for some time excepting day before yesterday when there was an awful fog. Tomorrow is Good Friday and there being only one collection I have to post this today. Last year I remember I didn't do so but still the letters reached you in time. In case I hear about the Little Go tonight or tomorrow morning I shall drop you a line.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

2. Krishanlal Nehru (1881-1951); son of Nandlal Nehru and first cousin of Jawaharlal. A medical graduate of Edinburgh University, he served as an official in the United Provinces till his resignation during the noncooperation movement.

18. To Father

Harrow
19. 4. 07

My dear Father,

I didn't expect to receive your presidential address till this week and was surprised to get it by the last mail. I was sure yours would be a good address and my expectations have been fully realised. I specially like the manner you have handled the Hindu-Mohammadan problem. You are still very moderate but I hardly expected you to become an extremist. I personally like to see the Government blamed and censured as much as possible, but perhaps it is better to be temperate. As regards John Bull's good faith I have not have as much confidence in him as you have. I wonder how your address was received. It could hardly have pleased the Extremists and specially the students.

From Oxford I went to Eastbourne, as I wrote to you last week, for the week-end. I had a very pleasant time there, so much so that I stayed for another day in spite of my week-end ticket. I would have stayed on for some more days if the term didn't begin here so soon.

I have got my remove and am in the second fifth now. The first fifth is taken with our form and both do exactly the same work. So that, practically the sixth is the only form above ours.

I have got nearly eight weeks before Part II of the Little Go and the Additional Subject. I am trying to arrange for private lessons in Mechanics but it is rather hard to do so in the Summer term as most people want to have as little to do as possible now. But I think I shall succeed in getting them.

I am taking up cricket this term but in a form in which I shan't have to play every day. The weather at Bournemouth and Eastbourne was very mild, sometimes quite hot. But still we had fires there. Here it is far colder and yet no fires are allowed.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

19. To Father

Harrow
17. 5. 07

My dear Father,
Yesterday was a whole field day and we had to do a lot of running about and marching. I have not recovered yet and feel very stiff and tired. There were three small schools on our side and on the other side was Oxford University with some schools. The Oxford people had mounted infantry with them and a maxim gun but in spite of these we licked them hollow. This was mainly due to our scouts and I am glad to say I was among them. In the morning the scouts were sent out in pairs to reconnoitre and bring in reports as to the state of the country round us. After this we had to wait till the time came when we were supposed to start. As soon as it was time the scouts, about twenty in number, ran as fast as they could for about a mile and a half over hilly country. This was to get possession of an important hill before the enemy reached there. We got there in the nick of time just when the enemy were marching up it from all sides. Even then they might have driven us back if they had shown any dash but they were so surprised to see us reach the place in such a short time that they promptly retired. We easily held the hill till reinforcements came up. After that it was plain

sailing. At the end of the fighting all the corps had tea at the country house of an old Harrovian. There was corps supper here when we came back.

Just after I wrote to you last week I saw the paper and was astounded to read the news from India. It was surprising enough as it was but the *Daily Mail* exaggeration made it even more so. Since then I have been well supplied with information concerning India but it is hard to know what is true and what is false. I do not yet know what caused all this trouble, unless it be the prosecution of the *Punjabee*[1]. I fail to see what good this can do.

This morning I read that Bipin Pal, who I presume is Bipin Chandra Pal,[2] had decided to retire from public life. Has his zeal for his mother country worn out so soon?

After some correspondence Fletcher wrote to me that I could do an English Essay instead of the Greek. There are just over three weeks left before the Exam. and I have got a lot to do. I have given up the idea of appearing for the Additional Subject in June. I have got quite enough to do without appearing for it. For the Previous, I have got Logic, which I have only begun as yet, and Mathematics. The latter are very easy and I did all that is required long ago. But that is just the difficulty. I have hardly done any Arithmetic and Algebra for a long time and would probably make absurd blunders. So I think I shall do some of the old papers beforehand. The third subject is the essay. This is not set beforehand as you seem to think. But a book is set from which a subject for an essay will be chosen. This book is for 1907 — Thackeray's[3] *Esmond*. I read this some time ago just for the sake of reading it but since then I have not opened it. For the entrance it is merely a question of revision of the Latin book and grammar.

Shakespeare is not among the Additional Subjects. The only three are French, German and Mechanics. I might have taken the first one

1. An Indian-owned English bi-weekly, was prosecuted for reporting that a British police officer had shot dead an Indian constable. Both the owner and the editor were sentenced to imprisonment. Lajpat Rai conducted the defence.
2. Bepin Chandra Pal (1858-1932); born in Sylhet now in Bangladesh. After studying theology at Manchester College, Oxford, he returned to India to become a schoolmaster, and later turned to journalism and politics. He took a prominent part in the agitation against the partition of Bengal in 1905; was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in 1907 for contempt of court and again for sedition in 1911. He was regarded as one of the Extremist leaders. He served for a short while in 1920 as editor of Motilal Nehru's newspaper *The Independent*, but severed his connection with it and with the Congress because he was opposed to Gandhi's noncooperation programme.
3. William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63); English novelist.

but I chose the Mechanics as being the most useful. I am going to continue my specials in them all through this term and I ought to be able to know something about them by that time. Besides I do them in my Tique div. too.

I am very sorry to hear of mother's ill-health. I do hope she will soon get better. I know you cannot leave her in that state of health and I do not wish you to do so. There are still quite two months before you can come here and I am almost sure she will be well enough to come over by then. Your bringing her over here is attended with many difficulties but money need not be one of these — unless you want to stay for months at the Hotel Cecil.

I have already spent too long a time over this letter and have only got about twelve minutes left for the rest of mail. So that my other letters will be short and sweet.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

20. To Father

Harrow
June 7, 1907

My dear Father,

Your letter gave me the first true account of the recent disturbances[1] and it turned out to be as I had expected. Really these sorts of occurrences make one despair of ever seeing a free and united India in spite of all one's enthusiasm for it. I do not blame Morley[2] at all for what he

1. The agrarian unrest in Punjab and the consequent deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, and certain other measures adopted by the government to prohibit public meetings in East Bengal and Assam led to serious agitation in the country.
2. John Morley (1838-1923); a leading Liberal intellectual, protagonist of Irish Home Rule and biographer of Gladstone; became Secretary of State for India in 1905 and much was expected of him. He and the Viceroy, Lord Minto, secured the enactment in 1909 of the Councils Act which provided for non-official majorities in the legislative councils but linked with the creation of separate electorates; otherwise his presence made little change to the policy of repression.

has done, except for Lajpat Rai's[3] deportation. I can quite appreciate his position and don't see what else he could well have done. But I am very sorry for Lajpat Rai.

I need hardly write to you of the half term placings as you will see them in the reports. I saw some of the latter and think they are as good as I could expect them to be. In form of course my Latin prose is par excellence the most notable.

Next week you shall hear how I have fared at the Trinity Entrance. I have literally not touched a book for it and all depends on what I did for Part I of the Little Go.

For Part II of the Previous I have had to prepare Logic and *Esmond*. I have just managed, with great difficulty, to read through for the first time the book on Logic. I had read less than half of it till a few days; but then I resolved to finish it and finished it the same day. I have been doing Logic with my tutor since I began it here. But he knows very little about it and he said so himself. So I have arranged to have a few lessons with a person who does know something about it, before I go up.

As for the *Esmond*, you told me to write a lot of essays on it, but as yet I have not even read it properly. I shall probably go through it once more before going to Cambridge. I could fairly easily write four or five pages on any subject related to it but I suppose they want much more.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

3. Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928); a leading politician of Punjab, began his career as a lawyer at Hissar, and later moved to Lahore. He was a prominent member of the Arya Samaj. He attended the fourth Congress session at Allahabad in 1888, and in 1905 toured Britain with Gokhale to propagate the Indian nationalist viewpoint. In the split between the Moderates and the Extremists in 1907 he sided with the latter. He was deported to Mandalay. Released after six months, he was active in politics till 1914 when he visited Britain and then proceeded to the United States, where he stayed for five years. On his return, he presided over the Congress session at Calcutta in 1920. Joining the Swarajist Party, he was elected to the Central Assembly, but soon broke with Motilal Nehru and was one of the founders of the Nationalist Party. He led the demonstration in Lahore against the Simon Commission, was severely beaten by the police, and died a few days later.

21. To Father[1]

Harrow
July 5th 1907

My dear Father,

......Yesterday was Speech Day and I had a rather dismal time. Everyone had some people come to see him and I was the only exception. However I succeeded in getting a ticket for the speeches and thus whiled away a couple of hours or so. Another hour was spent in listening to the school songs and the rest of the time was spent in my room.

Next week is Lord's[2] and I don't know yet whether I shall have to go there alone or not. I may go with Birju Bhai on one of the days, if he chooses to have a relaxation from his work, and on the other day I may go with a Harrow boy, or rather an old Harrovian for he left last term......

Your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. The annual Eton v. Harrow cricket match played at Lord's cricket ground.

22. To Father[1]

Harrow
12.7.07

My dear Father,

......Your last letter contains an exciting account of the doings of the "40 brave Rajputs."[2] I was much amused to read about them and don't think there is much to fear from them. Still I can't help feeling slightly anxious......

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. A band of dacoits who had given themselves this name. Their practice was to demand payment and to commit robbery if this were refused. Motilal, however, refused to yield to threats, and was left unharmed.

23. To Father[1]

Harrow
July 19th 1907

My dear Father,
......You have well named Morley as *Jan Marli*.[2] I used to quite admire him at first and even after Lajpat Rai's deportation, I thought that he must have been misled by others and would soon rectify his mistake. Now I detest him[3]......

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. A pun in Hindi, implying that he has sorely troubled us.
3. In his budget speech in June 1907 Morley had severely criticized the educated classes in India and had observed that government machinery could not be entrusted to them even for a week.

24. To Father[1]

Harrow
July 25th 1907

My dear Father,
My Harrow career is rapidly drawing to a close and in another four days will be a thing of the past for me. I can't say I feel sorry for this. I would have liked to have stayed on for another year if I had been younger but under the circumstances it is undoubtedly the best thing for me to leave. This then will be the last letter I shall write to you from Harrow, at least as a member of the School.

An association — the Harrow Association — has just been formed here for old Harrovians. Until lately there had been old Harrovian cricket and footer clubs but no general club for all old Harrovians. The entrance fee is £2.2.0 and that makes one a life member with nothing more to pay. The chief advantage in joining it is the use of its colours. But unfortunately the colours have turned out to be a wretched mixture of blue and white. However I am going to have a coat made of them soon. Besides these colours there are other colours which have come to be regarded as O.H. colours without any formal adoption. I like these much better and have ordered a coat in these too. I have of course joined the Harrow Association......

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.

You wrote to me sometime ago about my giving a leaving Lunch or Dinner. A Lunch or Dinner is hardly ever given here but leaving breckers or breakfasts are generally given by those who have been in the school for about five or six years. Specially is this the case among the members of the cricket and footer elevens who give breckers to their brother olympians. It would look rather absurd and funny if I gave a brecker and so I am not going to give one.

J

25. To Father[1]

Highgate
August 1st 1907

My dear Father,
I have left Harrow at last and left it for good. And strange as it may seem I was quite sorry to do so. I would not have believed this myself a few days before, yet such was the case. I did not know, till my last day at Harrow, how attached I had grown to the place......

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.

26. To Father[1]

Dublin
Aug 22nd 1907

My dear Father,
....You wrote to me something about my keeping a horse at Cambridge sometime ago. I should of course rather like to keep a horse in certain respects but still I don't like the idea half so much as I used to. In the first place it will be expensive, specially so at Cambridge, and secondly it would take up too much of my time. I intend to take up rowing, and rowing takes up more time than any other sport. I don't believe in taking up several sports in a half-hearted sort of way. If I am to take up anything I might as well do it thoroughly. You must not think that I want to do a good deal of rowing because I want to get into the Trinity boat. I am too light to be anything but cox, and I shouldn't like to be cox.[2]....

1. Extracts.
2. In fact, that is what he did become.

Mrs. Tanner appeared to be rather disappointed when I told her that you were not coming to England this year. She doubtless hoped to make a further arrangement for the next year. This is of course out of the question but I should like you to write to her that I shall be delighted to stay with them off and on during my visits to London. Their charges are, as you know, exorbitant, yet I may feel like going to stay with them sometimes. It has cost me less to come over here from London and stay here for a week than a week's stay alone would have cost me at the Tanners.

I don't remember at all how many weeks I have spent at the vicarage this year. I should think I was there for at least six weeks.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

27. To Father[1]

Dublin
Aug 29th 1907

My dear Father,

....Last evening I went to hear Father Bernard Vaughan[2] lecture on the "Faith of the Irish." I expect you have heard of his famous sermons on the sins of society. We arrived there about an hour before the commencement and found a great crowd of people struggling with one another to get through a narrow door-way which led to the lecture-room. Such is the hold he has on the people. He gave a beautiful and logical — as far as one can employ logic to prove the necessity of faith — lecture. He is an excellent speaker and not for a moment did any one lose interest in the lecture. He dragged in of course his favourite subject — the sins of society — and told some very good stories of the modern sportsmen and fashionable fop....

With love,

from your ever loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. A popular Jesuit preacher.

28. To Father

Dublin
Sept 12th 1907

My dear Father,

Your letter this week too was very short. I haven't had a long one from you for ever so long. Your last was written just before your going to Calcutta to see the Kaviraj[1]. I do hope his treatment did you a lot of good.

We are still in Dublin, lingering on for lack of having any better place to go to. But the probability is that before next week we shall have either gone back to England or to some other place in Ireland.

Birju Bhai and Jagmohan Nath[2] are staying with us, so that we are a party of six altogether here. There is hardly room for us all in this house but we preferred this to staying in different places.

A couple of days ago I received a bunch of letters from Harrow, which had been sent to some one else by mistake. They were all Indian letters which ought to have reached me three weeks ago.

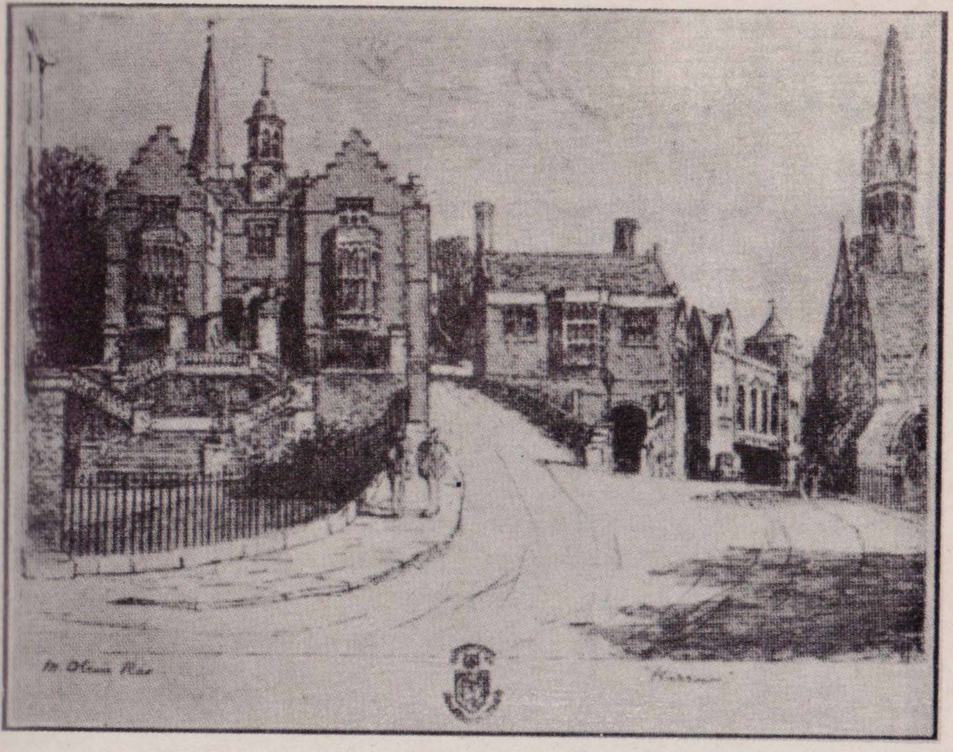
In your last letter you asked me not to go near Belfast on account of riots[3], but I would have dearly liked to have been there for them. About a fortnight ago there was a chance of our having similar scenes here but to my mortification the whole thing ended in a fiasco. The tramway employees were on the point of striking, and if they had done so, there would have been a little fighting in the streets of Dublin.

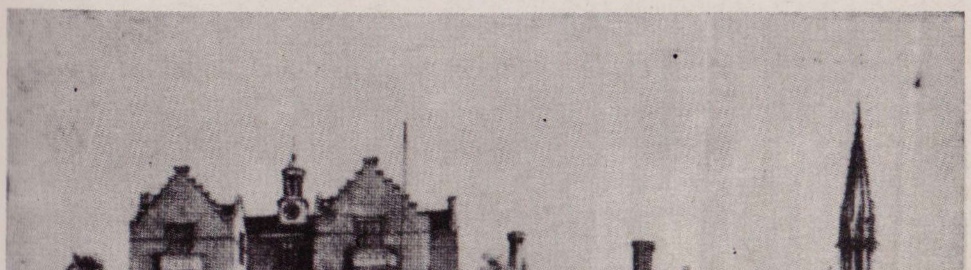
There is nothing else to write about.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Kaviraj Shyamadas Vachaspati, well-known Ayurvedic physician of Calcutta.
2. Jagmohan Nath Chak studied law in London and was later dean of the law faculty at Lucknow University.
3. Labour disputes and disaffection among the police caused riots in Belfast on 11 and 12 August 1907, and the army opened fire.





These two photographs of Harrow were preserved by Jawaharlal and stuck on the first page of his prison diary, 1930.

AT HARROW.

29. To Father[1]

Llandudno
Sept 19th 1907

My dear Father,

.... I think I wrote to you some time ago that I had sent in my name for the exam. in the Additional Subject to be held in October. I have not prepared at all for it yet and only a fortnight is left now. It was perfectly impossible to do any work in Ireland and it is still more so here. That is why I am going to London soon. That will give me just ten days for preparation and you can judge what the result will be. A Harrow master told me that it would take me six months to do it. ....

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.

30. To Father[1]

Llandudno
Sept 20th 1907

My dear Father,

.... There is nothing else in your letter except your reference[2] to the council of notables. Why call them noodles when their name itself, not—ables, suits them ?....

With love,

from
Jawahar

1. Extract.
2. "Morley's long promised reforms have at last been published. They are as was expected from an old imbecile like Morley just the opposite of reforms. His Advisory Council of noodles (I beg his pardon — I mean Notables) will be a huge farce and the enlarged Legislative Councils will be no more than a collection of *Ji-huzoors* little better than District Boards where the opinion of the Chairman (who is always the Collector of the District) is dittoed by every member. The avowed object of the so called reforms is to destroy the influence of the educated classes but the law of the survival of the fittest is too strong even for Morley."

31. To Father[1]

68 Elgin Crescent,
Holland Park W.
Sept 27th 1907

My dear Father,

... I forgot to write to you about Bepin Chandra Pal. What say you about his courage now?[2] You can hardly accuse him of cowardice. He may be mistaken in his ideas and theories but there is no question left of his acting up to them...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. See letters dated 7 and 15 November, 1907.

32. To Father[1]

The Union Society,
Cambridge
Oct. 17th 1907

My dear Father,

... You wrote to me sometime ago to have a group taken and also to have myself photographed in my cap and gown when I came here. I tried as hard as I could to induce the others to consent to the former but something or other was always cropping up to put it off till I had to come here. As for the cap and gown one I am surprised that you want one. I look simply awful in it. It is bad enough as it is without the cap and bells — I mean the gown — but with them it is infinitely worse. I am sure I shouldn't have the courage to show the photo to any one I know here. I shall, however, have myself photographed in ordinary costume sometime this term and if you really want to see how foolish I look in academical dress I shall ask Birju Bhai to photograph me.

Your advice about my not keeping too much aloof from the Indians here is perfectly right and just what I myself thought. There are some disreputable Indians here but then there are also some respectable ones and it would be silly of me, if not worse, to keep away from the latter ones just from fear of meeting the former. As a matter of fact the

1. Extracts.

Indians here as a whole are a better lot now than they were sometime ago but they have got a bad reputation and it is hard to get rid of it.

With love,

from your loving son

Jawahar

33. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Oct. 24, 1907

My dear Father,

I have just come back from a lecture on "Socialism and the University man", which lasted quite two hours and consequently it is somewhat late now. The lecturer was George Bernard Shaw[1], about whom you must have heard a good deal. I was more interested in the man than in the subject of the lecture, and that was the reason of my going there. G.B.S. is a very able speaker and he gave a very interesting and instructive lecture.

The novelty of the life here has practically worn off now and I am getting used to Cambridge. The days are even getting somewhat monotonous with their same routine repeated again and again. And so there is not very much to be written except an account of my doings on the river. I put my name down on the tubbing list last Monday and went down to the boat-house. But I could not be tubbed then or on any subsequent day. They weighed me the very first day and, I think, I was found to be the lightest person of the lot. I was immediately made a cox of a practise eight with a coach sitting behind me. The coach accompanied me the first two times, but since then I have been going out alone. Yesterday — my first time alone — I nearly ran the boat into the banks and into other boats. The river is so narrow and there are so many boats of all shapes and sizes going up and down it, that it is by no means easy for a beginner to keep clear of all obstacles. To add to one's worries the 'Varsity boat always appears at awkward corners tearing down the river at breakneck speed. Every other boat has to make way for it and, if by any chance it can't, it not only has to pay a fine for it but there is also a danger of its being run down. Coxing

1. George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950); leading British dramatist and Fabian. Long after this letter was written, in 1948, as Prime Minister, Jawaharlal wrote to Shaw: "like many of my generation, we have grown up in company with your writings and books. I suppose a part of myself, such as I am today, has been moulded by that reading." The two men met later that year.

does not give one much exercise and that is why I don't like it very much. But it is much better than staying in one's rooms all the time. Before I went down to the river I used to do practical physics every other day in the afternoons. This I can't do now as I don't generally come back till tea-time. I tried to arrange some other times but that too could not be done and so now I do not do the subject at all! A pretty prospect for my taking the trip[2] year after next!

Matriculation took place last Monday. It consisted of our signing our names to a declaration about obeying the 'Varsity rules. It was a most tedious process as there are over 200 freshers at Trinity and my turn came rather late. I had to miss two lectures on account of it.

I hope you have a pleasant time on the rivers in your new motor boat.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

2. The tripos —, the final honours examination at Cambridge.

34. To Father[1]

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Oct 31st 1907

My dear Father,

...I went the other day to a meeting of the "majlis"[2] here just to see if they were as bad as they were painted; but I am glad to say I failed to discover anything very reprehensible in it. It is curious how the Cambridge Indians have got a bad name on account of the doings of a very small number of gentlemen.

I heard a good deal, sometime ago, about a "native" club having been started here by Indians. I suppose you must have heard about it too from your allusions to it. There appears to have been no such thing, at any rate in the sense I understood it. For there is a "Native" club here but it is meant for eating "natives"[3]!...

With love,

from your ever loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. Association of Indian undergraduates. The word 'Majlis' means gathering.
3. Oysters.

35. To Father[1]

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Nov 7th 1907

My dear Father,

Your last letter was full of politics—or at any rate of the doings of Mr. B. C. Pal—and as I have little better to write about I shall begin with the same subject.

Your letter was not the first to suggest to me that B. C. P. had refused to give evidence[2] simply to make a hero of himself. The idea had occurred to me but for aught I knew it might have been quite wrong and I had no justification at all for holding that view. Your letter, of course, puts a somewhat different complexion on the matter. But supposing he had had no "conscientious scruples" and had given evidence before the court, would it not have been said, and rightly too, that he was a coward and dare not live up to his beliefs? For he has been preaching the boycott of everything English, even the courts of law, and it was only natural and consistent for him to do himself what he wants others to do. His views may or may not be right but I can see no inconsistency in his conduct. Of course you know much more about him than I do and are far better qualified to form an opinion. I have to rely mainly on Reuter's short, and at times misleading, accounts, and the Keir Hardie affair[3] has shown how trustworthy these are.

Have you heard of the Sinn Fein[4] in Ireland? It is a most interesting movement and resembles very closely the so-called extremist movement in India. Their policy is not to beg for favours but to wrest them. They do not want to fight England by arms but "to ignore her, boycott her, and quietly assume the administration of Irish affairs."[5] They have nothing to do with the Nationalists, in fact they would even have a boycott of the House of Commons and this does

1. Extracts.
2. Bepin Chandra Pal refused to give evidence in August 1907 in a case against Aurobindo Ghosh because he thought his evidence might go against the interests of the country.
3. James Keir Hardie (1856-1915), a Scottish coal miner who became prominent in the British Labour Party and its leader in the House of Commons, visited India in 1907. His speeches were misrepresented in the British Press. He was accused of making inflammatory speeches and stirring up sedition, but the Indian newspapers felt that he had been misrepresented.
4. The Irish nationalist movement.
5. The quotation is from "The New Ireland" by Brooks, referred to later in the letter.

not commend itself to Mr. Redmond[6] and his followers. When I was at Dublin a big Nationalist meeting was held at the Mansion House there and Redmond and other prominent people spoke in it. Admission to it was by ticket only—this reminds me of the U.P. Conference—and the Sinn Feiners could not get in. But they were not to be so easily put off. They held a meeting in the open outside the Mansion House which was much larger than the one inside the House.

Among people who ought to know, this movement is causing much more consternation than the Nationalists ever did. They say that if its policy is adopted by the bulk of the country, English rule will be a thing of the past before long.

A little booklet, entitled "The New Ireland", by Sydney Brooks came out a few months ago. I wonder if you have read it. If not, I hope you will do so. It is a most interesting book and I am sure you will like it.

This week the debate at the Union was about India. The motion was a very mild one to the effect that Indians should be associated with the management of their own affairs and was passed by a not very big majority. Only a couple of years ago a much stronger motion was passed by a huge majority but then Gokhale[7] came down to speak. It was unfortunate that the debate was on Guy Fawkes' day[8] as most people paraded about the streets in search of a rag. They were disappointed, however, but there are rumours of one going to take place tomorrow as it is the King's birthday[9]. Monday is a likely day, too, as the King of Spain[10] comes down then to visit his cousin Prince

6. John Edward Redmond (1856-1918); Irish nationalist leader who was a member of the British Parliament.
7. Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915); the most outstanding of the Moderate leaders. Educated at Poona and Bombay, he started his career as a school teacher and then, for 18 years, taught at Fergusson College in Poona. He attended the Congress session at Allahabad in 1888 and thereafter, as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and then the Central Legislative Assembly, attained a leading position in Indian public life by his carefully documented and analytical speeches on political and economic subjects. In 1905 he presided over the Congress and the same year he founded the Servants of India Society. He died at the early age of 49. Mahatma Gandhi referred to him as his political guru.
8. The anniversary of 5 November 1605 when Guy Fawkes was seized for an attempt to blow up the House of Lords.
9. King Edward VII (b. 9 November 1841) was King of England from 1901 to 1910.
10. Alphonso XIII (1886-1941); King of Spain, 1886-1931.

Leopold of Battenburg[11] at Magdalene...

With love,

from your loving son

Jawahar

11. Lord Leopold Mountbatten (1889-1922).

36. To Father[1]

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Nov 15th 1907

My dear Father,

I wrote a lot to you last week in a sort of justification of Bepin Chandra Pal's conduct. This morning's telegrams show how wrong were my calculations. I am certain now that your view of the case is the right one. If B. C. Pal had "conscientious scruples" against giving evidence in court, surely these same scruples ought to prevent him from appealing to a court for a mitigation of his sentence....

With love,

from your ever loving son

Jawahar

1. Extracts.

37. To Father[1]

London
Dec 20th 1907

My dear Father,

...I have read your article in the *Pioneer*[2] and must say that I do not like it at all. I had till now an idea that you were not so very moderate as you would have me believe. But the article almost makes me think that you are "immoderately moderate." I would have said that the article had been written by a person with strong "loyalist" tendencies if I had not known you better.

The object of your article is, as far as I can gather, a defence of the behaviour of the "moderate" leaders of the U.P. Even if I had condemned the action of the extremists at the last U.P. conference

1. Extracts.
2. A British owned newspaper of Allahabad. Winston Churchill was for some time its correspondent.

and before, I would hardly have thought your line of defence a very suitable one. You must have read Gokhale's recent speech,[3] on the same subject, in which he effectively silenced the Viceroy and the other members of the council. I do not think there could have been a better answer, from the moderate point of view, than his comparison between the C.M.G.[4] and the extremists...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

3. Speech opposing the bill for the prevention of seditious meetings.
4. *Civil and Military Gazette*, a British owned newspaper of Lahore. Rudyard Kipling was for some years its assistant editor.

38. To Father

The Cairn Hydro,
Harrogate
Jan. 2, 1908

My dear Father,

You will be somewhat surprised to see that I am still at Harrogate. We had decided to go back to London to-day but were unable to do so at the last moment. We had asked the officials here whether they would take a cheque in payment of our account and they had consented to do so. When the cheque was going to be presented [to] them, however, they objected to it. We then wired to Jagmohan Nath, who is in London, to wire us the required amount. He did not grasp the situation at all and wired back that he was sending a cheque. We received his wire only a short time ago and have just replied to it.

We have had a lot of entertainments here during the past week, mostly consisting of dances. There was one fancy dress ball and some Cinderellas. But the most interesting of the lot was the staff ball last night. All the servants of our hydro and some from other hydros took part in this and danced with the visitors. There was an interval between the dances and during this supper was served. All the waiters and waitresses etc. sat down to it under the august presidency of the Head Waiter, whilst we, poor visitors! waited on them. Both the ladies and gentlemen waited on them and it was most amusing to see about half a dozen persons trying to forestall each other in getting something for the "guests". I was most industrious and waited on the girl who serves us at table. She was the best dressed and the prettiest of the lot and quite a number of people wanted to serve her.

I wished to dance with her too but her programme was full up. I didn't feel like dancing much last night, and I hardly danced at all, but I was rather keen on dancing with one of the waitresses just to know what she would talk about. I had no opportunity of doing this, however, except with another person's partner in Lancers, and she happened to be our own waitress. Birju Bhai asked one of them for a dance and she answered "Yes, Sir." It was so funny, her saying "Sir".

If we get the money from Jagmohan Nath by tomorrow afternoon we shall go to London in the evening. In the morning we are going to visit the ruins of Fountains Abbey. This is about fifteen miles from here in the Marquess of Ripon's[1] estate.

We expected lively things at the Surat Congress[2] and our expectations were more than fulfilled. It is, of course, a great pity that such a split should have occurred. But it was sure to come and the sooner we have it the better. You will most probably throw all the blame on Tilak[3] and the extremists. They may have been to blame for it but the moderates had certainly a lot to do with it. I do not at all object to R. B. Ghose being President; but the manner in which he was declared President in the face of opposition can hardly be defended from any point of view. The moderates may represent part of the country but they seem to think, or at any rate try to make others believe, that they are the "natural leaders" and representatives of the whole country. The manner in which some of them try to ignore

1. Lord Ripon, best known for his Indian Viceroyalty (1880-1884), when his very mild efforts to introduce a measure of equality between senior British and Indian officials roused the intense wrath of the British community in India.
2. The differences within the Congress between the Moderates and the Extremists, which had been growing since 1905, came to a head at the Surat session in December 1907. Surat was chosen because it was a Moderate stronghold, and Rashbehari Ghose, a Moderate lawyer from Bengal, was installed as President. The Extremists agreed to accept his election if he deleted from his presidential address any offensive passages and if the earlier decisions on swaraj, boycott and national education were reaffirmed. The session broke up in confusion, and the Extremists kept away from the Congress till 1914.
3. Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), the outstanding nationalist leader, was educated at Poona and taught at Fergusson College. He edited journals in English and Marathi and was sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. He was also the author of scholarly works on Indian history and philosophy. In a message on Tilak's birth centenary on 18 June 1956, Jawaharlal wrote: "I remember that in my boyhood and youth, when I had not personally met him, how powerfully I was influenced by him. He seemed to be the embodiment of Indian nationalism struggling for freedom."

and belittle all those who differ from them would be annoying if it was not ridiculous. I firmly believe that there will hardly be any so called "moderates" left in a very few years' time. By the methods they are following at present they are simply hastening the doom of their party.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

39. To Father[1]

London
Jan. 10th 1908

My dear Father,

...Last evening Birju Bhai and I went to a meeting held in the Caxton Hall to protest against the treatment accorded to the Transvaal Indians. Lord Ampthill[2] was Chairman. I expect you must have heard of the meeting from other sources and so I need not dilate on it here. It was most interesting and at times even exciting...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. Lord Ampthill (1869-1935); had been Governor of Madras from 1900-1906 and officiated as Viceroy for a few months in 1904.

40. To Father[1]

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Jan. 16th 1908

My dear Father,

I received the cutting you sent me about the Congress last week. The account of the proceedings is much the same as Reuter's was. And you can infer from this what a long account he sent. But you say that the account of the *Times of India* is not free from party colouring. So I presume that Reuter was not as fair and unbiased as he might have been.

I noticed in one of the accounts that you spoke immediately before Tilak rose. This means that you must have been in the midst of the fray and I hope you will send me a good account of it.

1. Extracts.

The would be presidential speech of Dr. Ghose[2] does not strike me as being very brilliant or original. The beginning of his address is rather pathetic with its thanks for an honour which was not conferred on him and his allusion to the fate of Phaeton,[3] which turned out to be true in his own case. At times he begins to talk almost like an Anglo-Indian. I don't see why he should talk about the chaos and anarchy that would result if the English left India, at any rate in the strain he does.

I came here from London day before yesterday. I have arranged to take almost the same lectures as I did last term. The only change is my dropping one of the chemistry lectures. I had to do this to find time to do practical physics. The lectures start for me to-morrow morning...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

2. Dr. Ghose was not allowed by the Extremists to deliver his address.
3. A character in Greek mythology. Son of Sun, he tried to drive his father's chariot but could not control the horses, and Zeus had to kill him with a thunderbolt before he destroyed the earth.

41. To Father[1]

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Jan. 23rd. 1908

My dear Father,

I was eagerly looking forward to your last letter and hoping that it contained an account of the proceedings at Surat. But I was greatly disappointed to find that there was no mention of them in it. I have read many accounts about the last Congress but still I want to know what you think about it. I do hope you will not forget to write about it to me...

Before the end of this term we have the Lent[2] races. First Trinity have six boats in for these. I am now coxing the fourth of these.

1. Extracts.
2. The period of forty weekdays from Ash Wednesday to Easter, when Christians are expected to fast. The college boat-races at Cambridge were held during this period.

I was much dismayed to get a note from the College office today saying that if my bill was not paid within a week's time, I shall not be allowed to remain in residence. The bill is for £ 36 and a few odd shillings & pence. All the money I have left in the bank is about £2 or £3. Shridhar is unable to lend me all that I require and so, I believe, is Birju Bhai. I thought at first of wiring to you but then decided to wait till day after tomorrow and see whether your next contains a cheque. If it doesn't and if I cannot get the money anywhere else, you will probably hear from me before you get this.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

42. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Jan. 30th 1908

My dear Father,

Little of importance has happened here since I wrote to you last and I have consequently not much to write about. I have paid my college bill although I didn't receive anything from you by the last mail. Kishan Bhai sent me the required amount just in time.

I am sorry you don't approve of my opinions[1] but really I can hardly help holding them in the present state of affairs. They are the only inferences I can draw from my extremely limited supply of facts. Perhaps the fact that I have mostly heard one side of the case may have something to do with it. Anyhow I have not the presumption of imagining that my opinions are infallible.

The government must be feeling very pleased with you at your attitude. I wonder if the insulting offer of a Rai Bahadurship, or something equivalent to it, would make you less of a moderate than you are.

Jagmohan Nath must have left London today and will probably go home in the same boat as this letter. He came here last Sunday to bid us good bye.

With love,

from your ever loving son
Jawahar

1. "You know me and my views well enough to understand that I do not approve of the opinions expressed by you, but boys must be boys and I do not blame you for them." Motilal to Jawaharlal, 10 January 1908.

43. To Mother[1]

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Feb. 7, 1908

My dear Mother,

Last week, for the second time I made the mistake of posting the letters late. I had written all my letters and thought that I would take them all together and post them when I went across to the boat house. But when I set out, I forgot all about them. That is why none of my letters reached India. I am really very sorry for being so forgetful.

I was very amused by what you wrote about the Rani of Partabgarh in your letter. Ask her what business is it of hers whether a son or a daughter is born. If she likes boys, why should she expect others to do so too? She ordered a dozen suits at Trevelyans. Did she think that the boy would start wearing them as soon as he was born?

I do not know whether the kites have reached London or not. It is quite possible that they have, and Birju Bhai has not written to me about it.

So you are having winter there. For the last few days it has not been very cold here.

Lots of love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Original in Hindi.

44. To Father[1]

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Feb. 20th 1908

My dear Father,

Thanks awfully for the cheque for £100. I shall now be able to pay Kishan Bhai back the money he lent me to pay my last college bill. That with my landlady's account for this term will probably come up to nearly £60. So that I shall have about £40 left. With this I shall pay some of my small bills here, but I shan't be able to settle my account with Foster.[2] His bill, by the by, is only for my things. It consists of a small balance from the 1906 account, which

1. Extracts.
2. Jawaharlal's tailor in London.

you must have paid yourself, and the rest is for things made for me since then. The latter chiefly consist of a dress suit and various old Harrovian knick knacks I had made there.

The Lents commence in another four or five days' time and we are out practising on the river every day. I have never even seen a bumping race and I don't quite understand yet the method of rowing. Our boat is not a bad one on the whole and ought to make some bumps, unless I make some howlers in the steering. And I am quite likely to do so. In spite of a month's practice this term my steering is worse now than it was last term. I don't know why this is so, but it certainly is so. I don't think you have seen the part of the river here where the races are rowed. It is an absurdly narrow strip with the sharpest of corners. In the straight bits there is of course no difficulty but taking a bad corner may mean the loss of a length or so. I should be glad, in a way, if they got some one else to cox the boat.

I discovered, a few days ago, that hiring a horse was not a difficult thing to do here. There is a good riding school here, where all the selected C.S.[3] candidates take lessons, and I can easily get horses there. So I promptly ordered some riding apparel and intend going out riding next term if not this...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

3. Civil Service.

45. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
March 5th 1908

My dear Father,

The Lents are over at last and little remains to be done before the end of this term. In the races two of our boats did well, one not badly, and the rest were not much good. In the first lot was the boat I had coxed for the greater part of this term, but which I did not cox during the races. This boat made four bumps, that is, it made a bump every day. In such cases the crew get an oar each to hang it up in their rooms and display it to admiring friends, the cox getting the rudder. Isn't it hard luck on me not to have coxed the boat in the races and got the rudder?

The boat I did cox, however, did, on paper, almost as badly as it could have done. It rowed over the first day and got bumped the next three. But as a matter of fact we had splendid races and that is, after all, the end in view. My coxing, I am glad to say, was fairly good. Once a boat gained on us a great deal at first and was almost overlapping at a certain corner, but I took such a lovely corner that we got away from them. In the straight bit they came up to us again and at the next corner we got away again. After that there were no sudden corners and they bumped us not very far from the end of the course. I was greatly congratulated on my steering and perhaps that was better than the rudder.

As it happened the cox of the other boat did not do well and the coach was not very pleased at changing line for him. However they made their four bumps in spite of this and so it didn't matter.

With love,

from your ever loving son

Jawahar

46. To Father[1]

Trinity College,
Cambridge
March 13th 1908

My dear Father,

Your last letter brought one of the most surprising bits of news I have had for sometime. I knew that Jagmohan Nath was hardly the sort of person to undergo anything for the sake of a principle, specially if in doing so his views clashed with those of his parents, but still to perform a five or six days *praschit* is, to use a rather vulgar phrase, the limit. I would hardly have thought it possible of him, and so soon after his return too! His brother Manmohan[2] appears to be greatly annoyed at it and vows that he will never do such a thing. But I should be mightily surprised if that was the case...

With love,

from your ever loving son

Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. Manmohan Nath Chak, a barrister, and second son of Prithinath Chak.

47. To Father[1]

London
3.4.08

My dear Father,
We arrived here from Paris this morning after having travelled all night in a famishing condition. We had intended leaving Paris by the morning train and reaching London last night but a slight dispute arose over our hotel account and we missed the train. Our week's stay in Paris proved rather expensive and we had very little money left at the end of it. Still we thought we would be able to pay the hotel account and tip the various persons concerned. The hotel bill however somewhat staggered us. It was just about 50 frs. more than we had expected it to be and just 6 frs. more than all we had put together. The mistake arose from our not having included a day in our estimation. This of course was entirely our fault and we had to suffer for it. But there were some other items on the bill which the hotel people took off. We could then pay the bill and have about 8 or 9 frs. left over. Out of this we had to pay the porters, tip some persons and get lunch, dinner and tea. We had to leave out the tipping and the rest of the day we lived on coffee and bread. So that we did not have a substantial meal from dinner time day before yesterday till this morning. I am going to send the tips by post...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.

48. To Mother[1]

London
April 5, 1908

My dear Mother,
Only day before yesterday, I wrote a letter to you. I am writing to you again today because it is quite possible that if I wait for the mailing day I may not find enough time to write. So I would have written my letters earlier than necessary.

I was glad to learn from father's letter yesterday that he has decided that I should come to India this year. At first, as I wrote to you, I did not like the idea of my coming to India, but when I learnt that

1. Original in Hindi.

even if father came to London, you and Nanni would not accompany him, I liked the idea of leaving London. Anyhow, now everything is settled about my trip. Birju Bhai is starting his final examination three days from now. If he gets through, our trip will be certain. The summer vacation lasts for four months. This means I can spend about three months in India. We think that this time, if father approves, we should not go back by a P & O vessel and shall travel by some other company's vessel. In this way, we will spend less, even though on the whole this journey will probably take a few days more.

I came to know about young Nanni's *Kheer Chattai.* You have not written to me so far what name has been given to her.

You have written that I may not be able to see the exhibition.[2] I am not greatly interested in it. It will open two days before my departure. I may go and see it.

I am very sorry to learn that father is unwell. I am particularly distressed to hear that he is depressed and might not have liked something I wrote to him in my letter a few weeks ago.[3] What I wrote to him was written purely in fun and it never occurred to me that it could offend him. I was surprised to know that he did not like it and felt very angry with myself for having written such a silly thing. I shall apologise to him in my next letter.[4]

So father thinks that I have changed in Cambridge. I cannot understand this. Well, everyone slightly changes when he is a student and I think I am no exception. But I do not think I have changed more than that. Anyhow, you can judge for yourself in a few days as to how far I have changed.

You have written that I am more interested in games and do not pay enough attention to my studies. To some extent, this is no doubt true. I did not study much during the last two terms, but I did not have enough time then. I used to spend a lot of my time every day on the river. I did this only because father desired it. This term I shall try not to do so. But I may play tennis occasionally.

You misunderstand about my dancing. I do not go to dances every day. Only once in two or three months I get an opportunity. I do not waste much time on it nor do I spend a lot of money on it. Father himself wanted me to learn it.

What you have written to me about Shridhar is undoubtedly true. He studies hard. But to be exactly like him is rather difficult for me,

2. The Franco-British Exhibition which was to open at London on 14 May 1908.
3. See letter to his father dated 30 January 1908.
4. See letter to his father dated 10 April 1908.

even if I had wanted to. It was father who had desired that, besides studies, I should participate in games. This is what I tried to do during my last two terms and this is what Shridhar never does.

Jivan and some others are here

from your loving son
Jawahar

49. To Father[1]

London
Apr. 10th 1908

My dear Father,

I am so very sorry to hear that you were unwell and had the toothache again. I suppose from the general drift of your letters that you have been overworking yourself as usual. I know well that you can hardly help working hard and yet I think that you ought to take better care of your health and have the right amount of exercise every day. You may recover from these repeated breakdowns but they must have some permanent effect on you. And I shudder to think what the consequences would be if you had a breakdown more serious than the last. One of my reasons for not wishing to go to India was the thought that your coming here would do you a deal of good. As it is you will probably play us the same trick as you did when I went to India last. But I am determined to have you with me for by far the greater part of my stay in India, if not the whole of it...

...I have been told that you did not like something I wrote to you a few weeks ago.[2] I was rather surprised to know this as what I wrote to you was written purely in fun and it never dawned on me that it could offend you. All the same I was right sorry I ever wrote that or thought it. But what amazes me is that you should have ever thought me capable of being guilty of such a thing. I do hope this will put an end to the incident. I have heard quite enough about it. I am sure you will pardon me for an offence which I did not intend to commit...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. See letter of 30 January 1908.

50. To Father

Cambridge
7. 5. 08

My dear Father,
This evening I went to my tutor about my lectures and it occurred to me that I might ask him if I could go down a few days before the end of the term. I had not done so before as I was fairly certain about his allowing me to do so. But he refused to let me go down a single hour before the end of full term, unless of course I did not want this term to count, that is, didn't want to take the trip in the usual course. This being out of the question, I have to stay here till June 11. So I can't possibly think of going to India in the first week of June. I could not have done that in any case as I have my Mays[1] on then. The second week too seems a bit doubtful. June 11 is a Thursday and the P & O express leaves Victoria at 10, if I am not mistaken, for Marseilles. If this is the case I cannot go by it as the earliest train to town does not get there in time for it. If the train leaves Victoria at 11, I may by the skin of my teeth catch it. Assuming that it leaves at 10, and that I cannot go by it, the only thing remaining if I want to go by that week's steamer is for me to go via Brindisi. I don't know if you would like me to do that. Anyhow I don't like the idea of rushing off without even spending a day in London as I have tons of things there which I want to take. If I had had time I should have liked to go to Oxford for a day too.

I really cannot make out what is going to happen. Birju Bhai has not written to me a single thing about what he proposes to do. He may perhaps have not decided yet. I asked him about the advisability of wiring to you but he has not answered yet. It will be somewhat hard to explain the situation in a telegram — and a trifle costly too. A few long telegrams to India would leave little behind.

My Mays will be held, as I have already written to you, in the beginning of June. They will be in all the three subjects I have taken up. In Chemistry I know little, but let that pass; in Geology I know less, but I am expected to know little. The Geol. Practical I have only just started and I have to know the names and be able to recognise by the end of the month over 100 fossils with most weird names and scores of rocks and minerals. Still this does not trouble me half so much as Physics. I have attended several lectures on various parts of it since I came up but hardly one of them has been comprehensible. I

1. The annual examinations.

have been heartily regretting having taken up the subject at all. I wish I had taken Botany instead. But it is better to stick to it now.

I came up this term with great resolves about doing a huge lot of work daily. I have of course been unable to do as much as I intended but I have done a fair amount, more than I did during the last two terms put together. I hope I shall be able to get through the first year Mays as, if I don't, it will be highly annoying.

I have dropped off a lecture on Geol. mapping which was quite useless to me at present. It is really meant for people going up for their trip this year or the next. Shridhar induced me to attend it probably labouring under the impression that I had my trip looming in front of me. I can now get about a couple of hours in the afternoon to myself on Mondays, Wednesdays etc. I tried the dodge of attending lectures or labs from 9 to 7 with one hour off for lunch and no interval for tea, but one day of it was quite enough for me. I could not possibly do any work in the evening after that and I think I got up too late for a lecture next morning. Now I get two hours during those afternoons and practically all the other afternoons for either work or play. I thought I might as well take some exercise and not slack all the time and so I, with a couple of others, have engaged a tennis court for the rest of the term. I have not joined the college T.C. as, firstly, I was too late for it now, and secondly I didn't want to join it. I would have had to rush about trying to get a court early in the morning as there is a huge demand for them. Now we can go and play on our court any time before 5.30 we like. And this does not come very expensive either.

The "May Week"[2] here is going to be celebrated with more than usual eclat this year. This will be due to the installation of the new Chancellor and the Darwin centenary. In connection with the latter it is rather interesting to know that Darwin's grandson[3] or great grandson is at Trinity at present. He is going to appear in the Math. trip next year and most people think that he will be a Sr. W. If so, he will be the last of the senior wranglers.

The "May Week" is, as you probably know, a fortnight in June. It begins just a day or two before the end of the term and I shall miss it if I leave then. I should have rather liked to have seen it but I shan't be sorry to miss it. Everyone has his people down and, as at Harrow on Speech Day, I shall probably feel very lonely amidst the crowds of people. Balls are given right and left and I could easily go to several, but unaccompanied by anyone else. Few people go to them without

2. The last week of the summer term.
3. Sir Charles Galton Darwin (1887-1962); the distinguished physicist.

some lady friends and I should not like to do so. The races however may be interesting.

The great Franco-British exhibition will open in a few days in Shepherd's Bush. The daily papers, specially the half penny ones, are chanting its praises every day. It will be one of the finest ever held on earth, if one were to believe them. There is, by the by, going to be a "Typical Indian Village" in it. I shudder to think what that will be like. A congregation of half naked people, I should imagine. I don't think I shall be able to see the exhibition.

The weather after last week's cold has been delightful. The day after I wrote to you the temperature suddenly rose until it was about 70° in the shade! It has been fairly warm and occasionally wet since then.

With love,

from your loving son

Jawahar

I am sorry I have written on two kinds of note paper. I couldn't help it as I ran out of the other kind.

51. To Father[1]

Trinity College,
Cambridge
May 14th 1908

My dear Father,

... A day or two ago I was looking through some papers which had been set for the last three or four Mays To my surprise and disgust I found that they were far harder than I had expected. I might have done a question here and there out of the chemistry and the geology papers, but I could hardly do a single question satisfactorily in Physics. Really, the extent of my ignorance in the last named subject amazes me...

With love,

from your loving son

Jawahar

1. Extracts.

52. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
May 21, 1908

My dear Father,

I was delighted to get such a nice long letter from you, and yet the account of the attack of lumbago has made me very anxious about you. I am glad you have decided not to do any work during the vacation, though I wish you would extend the rest cure to some of the time when the High Court is sitting. Overworking yourself when you are unwell is a fatal mistake.

My information about your being "morose" is, I am glad to know, partially inaccurate. I wish the other part was also incorrect. It is you who ought to influence other people, and not be influenced by them. Yours must be the stronger personality — I doubt if you meet many people who have the advantage of you in that commodity — and I should have thought that you would bring others up to your state of mind, rather than lower yourself to theirs.

I told my tutor at the beginning of this term that I should like to have rooms in college next year, and, as a result of this he has allotted to me probably the rottenest rooms in the whole college. This is of course entirely my own fault. Choice of rooms goes by precedence of entry in the tutor's books. This list is the same as that given in the Cambridge Calendar, and you will see in the latter that I am very nearly the last on the list. The rooms are not too small, but what I object to is the absence of light. A tiny window looks out into the court and admits a wee bit of daylight. A point in favour of the rooms is that they are in Whewell's Court and so near the college baths. I can thus pop in and out of the baths in any dress. I should have of course preferred rooms in Great Court but there was no chance of my having any there in my second year. I may possibly get them next year. Of the other courts I liked Whewell's best. The rooms in Great Court are rather better ones but the chief merits attaching to them are their antiquity and connection with various famous personages.

I received a letter from Mr. Chakravarti this afternoon. He is in Paris at present but will soon be coming over here.

Haldane[1] came here a few nights ago and spoke on the new Officers Training Corps. He delivered an excellent speech and thoroughly con-

1. Richard, first viscount Haldane (1856-1928); lawyer, politician and philosopher; Secretary for War in the Liberal Government, 1905-12; Lord Chancellor, 1912-15 and in the Labour Government, 1924.

vinced me of the worth of his scheme. If I were an Englishman I should certainly take advantage of it. The only fault I can find in it is that it makes life too easy for those who want to join it. At the end of his speech he was asked a number of questions, among them being one concerning Indians. The question was whether Indians could join the Officers Training Corps and at the end of their 'Varsity life go out to India as officers. His answer to this was rather evasive. He said that it was an excellent idea and that he would be glad if it could take place, but, as the Indian army was quite separate from the English army, he could not say anything definite about it. The Corps here, as you know, does not take Indians in.

I rather wished to join the Mounted Infantry last term just to have some riding in an inexpensive manner. I knew they wouldn't take me but I thought that possibly they might do so as I was in the Harrow Corps. So I wrote to the man in charge and asked him for particulars. He answered that there was no vacancy till the summer term. After that I forgot all about it till I received a letter from that man this term, saying that there were two vacancies in the M.I. and that the riding test would be held in a few days' time. I do not suppose he knew that I was an Indian when he wrote that, in spite of my un-English name. I was totally unprepared for the riding test and could not go up on the required date. In the test one has to jump a five foot wall and I did not feel quite capable of doing that without any practice, specially as I had never seriously done any jumping before. Another, and a far more important reason, was that I did not have any riding things with me, and could not get them in time. I obviously couldn't go up in flannels. So I did not go up for the test. I yet think that the man is labouring under the impression that I am not an Indian. I shall write to him and disillusion him about it and then ask him if I can join the M.I.

Shridhar's trip begins next Monday. He has had very little time to prepare his subjects and I don't think he will get a first. He may, however, do so if he is lucky. The result will come out on or before the 19th June.

The weather here is lovely and it is delightful on the river. I had the pleasure of going on the Cam today in a punt.

This morning I went out for a ride with a friend. I intend going out again on Sunday.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

53. To Father[1]

The Union Society,
Cambridge
May 28th 1908

My dear Father,

...I am enclosing a cutting from a review published here, which came out a couple of weeks ago. It is rather an interesting letter about next year's Senior Wranglership. The letter is regarded by some as a joke, and it certainly is partially so, but then the authorities of the two colleges concerned would not have been annoyed at it. Most of the facts in it are true, some of course being fabrications. Johns' have got a person from the East End and also a clever American. The latter, I am told, is run by an American Syndicate who want America to possess the last Senior Wrangler. The Brahmin boy,[2] who is alluded to in such complimentary terms, is the brother of the Rau who just failed to get through the I.C.S. last year. He came here the same term as I did and is going to take the maths trip next year. I did not know before reading this letter that he was so frightfully clever. He certainly works hard enough. The only times I ever see him is in hall or going to hall or lectures. I believe he works all the rest of the time.

Arabindo[3] Ghose's name has been struck off the King's lists. This fact is not generally known here yet. A don of King's told a friend of mine about it.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

By the by I was not aware of the fact that the snows were anywhere near Moradabad. Can you see them from "Snow View"?

If you write to me to Port Said just after receiving this I think I shall get your letter. In any case I ought to get a letter from you at Suez. Don't forget to write to both places.

1. Extracts.
2. B. N. Rau (1887-1953); Joined I.C.S., 1910; judge, Calcutta High Court 1939; Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir, 1944; constitutional adviser, Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-49; permanent representative of India at the United Nations, 1949-51; judge, International Court of Justice at the Hague, 1952-53.
3. Aurobindo Ghosh (1872-1950); after his education at Cambridge returned to India in 1893 and started his career as a teacher at Baroda College. He soon took an active part in Indian politics and was one of the extremist leaders in the Congress. He was one of the accused in the Alipore Bomb Case but was acquitted after a prolonged trial. However, he was imprisoned for alleged terroristic activities. In 1910 he retired to Pondicherry and established an Ashram there.

54. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
June 4, 1908

My dear Father,

I was somewhat surprised to know from your last letter that you expected me to start by this week's steamer. I could only have done this by not keeping this term. Even next week, as I subsequently discovered, would have meant my cutting the Mays. These go on for me till the 12th. For some other people they go on till a much later date but my three subjects are over tomorrow week. I have six papers altogether, a theoretical and a practical in each subject, and every paper is on a separate day. I have already had the first two—Chemistry and Geology. The latter was meant for both first and second year men and I do not know what standard I was expected to attain in it. But I do know that I did very badly in it. I have attended a course of lectures in it which was meant for first, second and third year men. Shridhar and a number of trip men were attending the same. The lecturer gave us a huge mass of details which were enough to get any one a first in the trip if he knew them. I could not possibly know any considerable part of them. And then they had the audacity to ask questions from these very details!

In Chemistry the fault, I must confess, lay entirely with me and not with others. The paper was an easy one and I could have done a considerable part of it at Harrow. Here, however, I made a mess of the whole thing.

These two subjects were the ones which I expected to do well in —and you see the result. Tomorrow is the Physics paper and I do not expect to do brilliantly in it. I wonder what the result of that will be.

I sent you a wire last Monday and informed you about the date of my departure from here. I thought you might like to know as soon as possible.

Everything has been arranged now about my passage. I have been allotted a cabin on the hurricane deck. It is in a rather bad position, as it does not look out on the sea, and it is a two-berthed one. The other berth has not yet been engaged. I could not get a better cabin as I applied so late for it.

I am glad Nanni has started riding. I hope she will be good enough by the time I reach Naini Tal to come out riding with me. I went out once again last week for a ride. I had thought that I wouldn't feel very much at home on horse-back after not having ridden for several years. But I seemed to get along fairly well. Perhaps that

was due to the horse. He was from the riding school here and was a well trained one.

I shall be up here for another week as the Mays go on till the 12th. I shall probably go down on the day the Mays are over. So that you will get my next, and last, letter from here.

Before I knew that the Mays would extend till Friday week, I invited a Harrow chap to spend a few days with me, from Saturday to Wednesday. He will now be here just in the middle of my exam and I can't do very much work whilst he is here. But I have only got two more papers after next Saturday — pract. Chemistry and pract. Physics; the former is easy, for the Physics I shall have two or three clear days.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

The other day I saw in an evening paper that Indians were called "invertebrates". Rather good that, isn't it? The *Saturday Review*, by the by, made a very wise remark a few weeks ago. It said that Indians were bound to have self-government but, — and herein lies the difficulty — not before a few aeons of geological time! This may mean anything between a few million years and a wholly incomprehensible period. The chief difficulty was the want of education, and some million generations will be required to educate them up to the colonial standard ! ! !

55. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
Oct. 29, 1908

My dear Father,

I had been eagerly looking forward to last week's mail for days and yet when it came it took me by surprise. It was just a little bit earlier than usual. It consisted of the usual three letters—yours, mother's and Nanni's—which almost invariably constitute the whole of my weekly home mail. Yours gave me great pleasure, and yet it is not pleasant for me to think that you are unhappy. I, too, felt very lonely after I left you and missed you very much. Still I think I should prefer to go away, rather than be left behind. I remember how miserable I was weeks after you left me at Harrow both times. I do not

think I have ever felt so lonely as I did then. Here it is not nearly so bad, perhaps owing to the many more people I know. And yet at times I am almost over-powered by the sense of my solitary condition.

When I arrived in England I had a feeling almost akin to that of a homecoming. The familiar sights and sounds had quite an exhilarating effect on me. And what a strange homecoming it was with no one to welcome us after our long voyage! For every one else there was a friend or relation to bid him welcome, and I stood there with a heavy heart thinking that that was not for such as us. It is strange but in spite of the homelike feeling I am constantly reminded of the fact that I am a foreigner, an intruder here.

The weather here has been very dismal. Every other person seems to have got a cold, and I, of course, did not long remain immune from it. With it I had a rather troublesome sore throat. This is much better now and I think the cold will soon disappear.

I forget if I wrote to you anything about my taking up Botany as a fourth subject last week. My director of studies did not seem to think this desirable and so I gave up the idea. I will, however, try to do a little of it by myself if I can. This is rather hard unless I do practical Botany.

The packing case arrived safely a few days ago. I was surprised to find several things in it which I had not told anyone to put in. The chutney somehow managed to ooze through the cork and stained some books.

Hope you have written a long letter by the mail coming in day after tomorrow as you promised in your last.

With love,

from your loving son

Jawahar

56. To Father

Cambridge

Nov. 19, 1908

My dear Father,

As I expected I got two letters from you last week. I am very sorry to hear of your illness and the motor car adventure. The latter in itself would not have been so bad but after your ill-health it must have been trying for you. I hope you allowed yourself several days' rest before you started work again.

I have been twice to the riding school this week and shall go again on Saturday. I intend going every other day in future. I have taken a book of 100 tickets as that comes much less expensive in the end compared to paying each time. It cost me £15. This is a fairly big sum but, when you come to think of it, not too much for 100 rides.

The riding master is a splendid horseman and teaches well. He generally makes us ride without stirrups or reins. This may be a very good method for learning horsemanship but at the same time it is frightfully uncomfortable. Cantering is not so bad but trotting on a big horse without any stirrups or reins and with the arms stretched upwards is really too bad. Apart from the pain I am not at all sure of my seat and will probably have a few falls in the course of the next few days. There is no danger of anyone hurting himself by falling. I know a person who regularly has two falls a day and is no worse for them.

If I continue having these lessons for some time I believe I might become quite a passable horseman.

I saw my tutor today about my joining the Inner Temple, and got an introduction from him to the Trinity law lecturer who is a barrister. This man will find another barrister for me to sign my application form.

On Sunday next Lajpat Rai is going to address the "Indian Majlis" here and the Sunday after Bepin Pal and Khaparde[1] will come. Gokhale was too busy to come. I am told that Morley has shown him a draft of the reform proposals and asked him to criticise them. He has been busy doing this for the last month. He thinks that they are fairly liberal. This evidently is not the opinion of the Government of India who think that they are far and away too liberal. Great pressure is being brought to bear on Lord Morley and Gokhale seems to think that he may yet succumb to Anglo-India and drop the more drastic proposals. But you will probably have read all about the projected reforms when you get this.

The chief topics of interest here at present are the rugger matches between the 'Varsities and the Australians but I doubt if you will feel very interested in them.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. G. S. Khaparde (1854-1938); the principal lieutenant of Tilak.

57. To Father[1]

Trin. College,
Cambridge
27-11-1908

My dear Father,
....Lajpat Rai came here, as I wrote to you, last Sunday & read a most interesting paper. He didn't at all like the idea of Indians going into the C.S. or the bar. He told me that as I had taken Science I might go in for manufacturing various things.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.

58. To Father

Trin. College,
Cambridge
Dec. 3, 1908

My dear Father,
I was much amused to learn that the C.I.D. had interested themselves in such an unimportant person as I am. If this was due to a letter being opened, I am very curious to know who wrote that letter and what he wrote.

I have often written to you how I do not feel very interested in Physics and cannot get along well with it. If I had known enough Mathematics all might have been well but as it is I would have to do a good deal of maths before I could proceed with Physics. Under the circumstances I thought it would be best to part company with Physics, even though I have only five more terms before the trip. I thought Fletcher would object to this but he at once suggested my taking one other science instead of it. Botany was the one we agreed upon. I do not know a word of Botany so far. I shall try to read something about it in the vac. and I might coach in it next term.

As regards my joining the Inner Temple I did not think it necessary to trouble Mr. Ford[1]. Besides that would have meant more trouble for me too as I would have had to go about from place to place. I was introduced by my tutor to two barrister fellows of Trinity and they signed the certificates. I sent the admission form duly filled up only this morning. When I go to town next I shall go to the Inner Temple and sign and do the various other things I am expected to do.

Fletcher did not say anything to me at all on my coming up late this term. All I have to do is to remain in Cambridge till the 17th Dec. instead of going down on the 11th.

Bepin Chandra Pal spoke at the Indian Majlis last Sunday. Khaparde was to have come too but was detained at the last moment on account of the Tilak case[2]. I am told that Rufus Isaacs is going to appear for Tilak.

I did not nearly like Bepin Pal's speech as much as I did Lajpat Rai's. He is not accustomed to addressing small gatherings and the way he thundered nearly made me deaf. Sometimes he grew very eloquent. But I objected greatly to his not taking the Mohammadans into consideration. Once or twice he did refer to them but then he was not very complimentary. Another thing which annoyed me was his repeated references to the spiritual mission of India. India, he said, was "God's chosen country" and the Indians the "chosen race"—a phrase which reminded me of Israel. The Mohammadans here were, naturally, not very pleased with him.

He is going to address a public meeting here day after tomorrow.

Please don't send me any more money to pay Foster with. I have already paid him.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. A friend of Motilal. "Ford belongs to that most respectable class of Englishmen called the middle class and is at present perhaps the only man in England on whose assistance and advice you can always rely in case of need" Motilal to Jawaharlal, 13 December 1908.
2. In June 1908 Tilak was prosecuted in Bombay on the charge of exciting disaffection towards Government and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. There is no clear evidence that Isaacs (later Lord Reading) considered appearing for the defence.

59. To Mother[1]

Trin. College,
Cambridge
4. 12. 1908

My dear Mother,

I am glad to learn from your letter that you are feeling better and happier now and do not worry too much.

You have written to me that you are going to read *Anand Math*[2]. Do read it. Although I have not read the book myself, yet I think it is a good book.

Bhola[3] asked me if he could have an old coat of mine. Kindly get him such a coat.

I shall see Jivan after two weeks.

It has been very cold here for the last two days. Do not worry about my catching cold. I take good care of myself.

About ten days back, Lajpat Rai came here.

From your loving son
Jawahar

1. Original in Hindi.
2. The well-known novel by Bankim Chandra Chatterji. It contained the famous song *Bande Mataram* which was sung by Bengalees widely during the partition agitation and became popular throughout India.
3. Bholanath Gwal Bans, an old servant of Motilal Nehru.

60. To Father

London
18. 12. 08

My dear Father,

I have just come down from Cambridge for the vac. and am staying here with Jivan. We intend going to Harrogate soon for a few days. Kishan Bhai will join us there. I expect you have heard of Kishan Bhai's success by this time. He took his degree the other day and is now an M.B. I do not know what he is going to do now.

Hope you will not mind my writing this very scrappy letter to you. I have got chilblains for the first time since I came here and besides it is much colder here than it was in Cambridge.

Lord Morley's famous reforms came out last evening. Do you not think he has got a strange sense of humour?

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

61. To Father[1]

Cambridge
22. 1. 09

My dear Father,

You distress me greatly by confidently expecting me to get a first. It is very very improbable that I shall do so, specially as I have just started Botany. Next term I have my second year Mays, which are almost as hard as the trip. How I am to get through with my Botany is more than I can tell. Still I am not sorry I took it. With Physics I would have done worse.

I do not say that a first for me is an utter impossibility, or that I shall give up all idea of working for anything above a third. I shall, of course, try to do as well as possible. But when I see some other people knowing their subjects much more thoroughly than I am likely to know, and then getting seconds & thirds, really I almost think that there is absolutely no hope for me. If you would not be so sure of seeing me get a first it would be all right. As it is, if I do badly in the trip, as I am more than likely to do, you will be very disappointed...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.

62. To Father[1]

Cambridge
March 4th '09

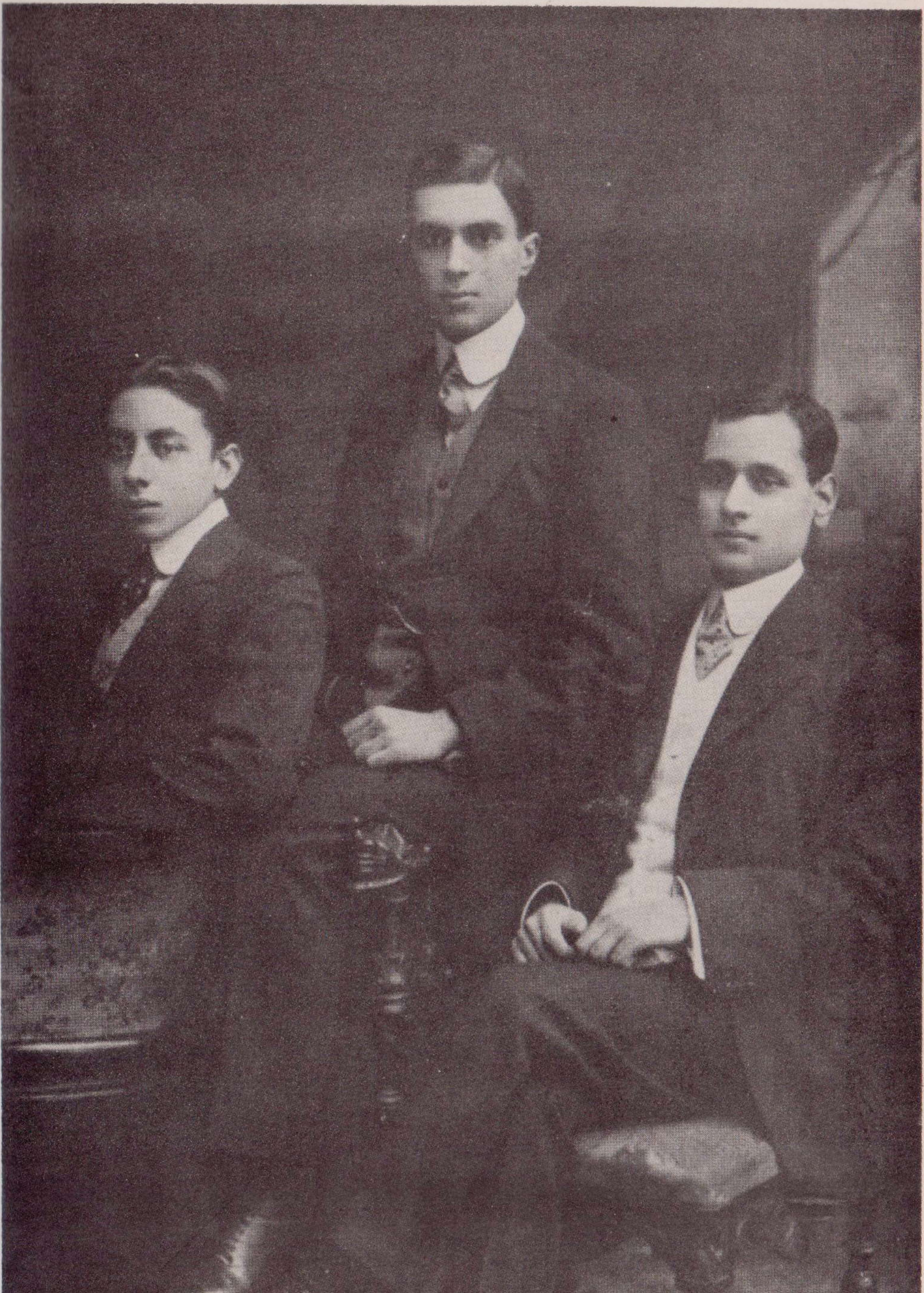
My dear Father,

...Sven Hedin[2] came here this afternoon to get an honorary degree, and he afterwards delivered a lecture on his travels. There was somewhat of a rush for this and it was with difficulty that I got a ticket for it. The lecture was very interesting although there was nothing very novel about it. I had already read about his travels in the papers and he practically said the same thing again. It was interesting, however, to hear him say it...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. The famous Swedish explorer.



CAMBRIDGE, 1907.
JIVAN LAL KATJU, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND KRISHANLAL NEHRU

CAMBRIDGE, 1910.

63. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
12. 3. 09

My dear Father,
Shridhar and I have at last come to an understanding and I shall go to Heidelberg soon after going down. Jivan will probably accompany me. You may get my next letter from there.

Morley is coming up to Cambridge today presumably to confer with the dons on the Indian question. There was a meeting here a few days ago of masters of colleges and others concerned to discuss the same question. Various resolutions were passed among which, I am told, was one to the effect that no other college should take in an Indian who had been forcibly made to leave his college. The Master of Downing was the only person who objected to this. He told them plainly that if an Indian was expelled through spite and without sufficient reason, from his college, he would take him in.

Morley was asked to come to the Indian Majlis dinner here, which takes place tonight. His answer, of course, was that he was too busy.

It has just struck me that your party to Mrs. Aikman[1] will be on tonight.

I hope the variety performance will be a successful one. Nanni's invitation card to the children's party was a sweet little thing.

I am having the Cambridge calendar for 1909 sent to you.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Wife of Robert Aikman, a member of the I.C.S. and judge of the Allahabad High Court.

64. To Father

60 Elgin Crescent,
London W.
18. 3. 09

My dear Father,
Jivan and I will be going to Heidelberg tonight or tomorrow. It will be too late for the Indian mail when we get there so we have to write our home letters now.

Lord Morley visited Cambridge on Friday last, as I wrote to you, and with the dons came to the conclusion that the number of Indians at Cambridge should be limited. The proceedings of course were private and I can only give you second or rather third-hand information. But I am inclined to think that it is very near the truth.

The number settled upon for each college was three. So that as there are 18 colleges, there will not be more than 54 Indians in Cambridge. Christ's mildly protested against this and Downing refused to have anything to do with it. The other colleges then retaliated by agreeing to take even fewer Indians if Downing took more than three, so that the final total should not exceed 54. At present there are about 90 Indians in Cambridge and over thirty of these are in Downing. I do not know how they propose to reduce these numbers.

Another thing I was told they were going to do was the appointment of a sort of guardian who would take a sort of fatherly interest in the Indians and keep an eye on their accounts etc. A certificate of loyalty would also be necessary.

I suppose all this would simply make Indian students go to Continental and other countries and to my mind this will be a good thing. They will then be more fit for doing something than if they had been to Oxford or Cambridge.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

65. To Father

Trin. College,
Cambridge
April 29, 1909

My dear Father,

Thanks for the copy of the address you delivered at the Social Conference.[1] I am glad you gave them a bit of your mind and did not try to minimise matters. It is absolutely futile passing tame resolutions year after year and not trying to live up to them.

I suppose a good number of people were not very pleased with your address, although some of them may not have said so.

1. Presiding over the third United Provinces Social Conference in April 1909, Motilal Nehru attacked social reactionaries: "Social reform, in my opinion, is the much despised parent of political reform and not merely its humble sister."

There has been no mention of your visit to Europe this year in your last few letters. I hope you will decide early and come before the summer is very old. As regards the steamship line I should suggest a change this time. Why not try Austrian Lloyds'? Their service to Trieste is I am told quite good.

I have been playing a good deal of tennis lately. I shall continue playing it fairly regularly all through the term. I also go out for rides occasionally, so that I do not suffer from lack of exercise.

We have been having very fine weather this week. Today a change for the worse has taken place and it is rainy and much colder. Fires have had to be resumed.

I was alarmed to read in mother's last letter that Nanni had got chicken pox. I hope she soon recovers from it.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

66. To Mother[1]

Trin. College,
Cambridge
7. 5. 09

My dear Mother,

I am very happy to learn that Nanni has recovered now. I hope that all the spots have disappeared.

You and father are unnecessarily worried about my marriage. In my opinion, it is not essential for me that I should marry a Kashmiri. I have thought over this question time and again and every time I am more and more convinced of this. It is obvious that many people would not like my marrying outside the Kashmiri community. But people do not like many things which one ought to do. In my opinion, everyone in India should marry outside his or her community. Then why should not I act according to my beliefs? When one feels that something is right, then he ought to do it. He should not be afraid simply because a few persons are not in favour of it.

Today I shall go to London for two days and shall return day after tomorrow night. Jivan is not there now. He has gone to Edinburgh. I shall see Manmohan there.

These days it is quite warm here.

From your loving son
Jawahar

1 Original in Hindi.

67. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
14. 5. 09

My dear Father,

I was overjoyed to learn from your last that your coming here this summer is almost certain now. I had been expecting this news for some time and so was hardly surprised at it, but what did surprise me was the probability of your being here in a short time. I had given up all hopes of seeing you till another eight or nine weeks. Nothing could suit me better than your coming here four or five weeks from now, which means your starting immediately after getting this. I shall be free to go down in just a month's time and after that the sooner you come the better.

I am so sorry for all the trouble I am giving you over such a detail as marriage. Personally, and I mean it, I am not violently looking forward to the prospect of being married to anybody. The joys of matrimony appear to me wholly imaginary, and do not at all appeal to me. Of marriage, in the abstract, I have a very high opinion; so much so that the practise of it is sure to disappoint me. This sounds like the saying of the Irishman who declared that he had such a great regard for truth that he refused to drag it into his own petty affairs, but really there is some sense in it. You, doubtless, will object to my remaining in the unblessed ranks of the unmarried and that settles it. But still I hope you will take this side of the question into consideration.

As regards the girl—if marriage it is to be—I am, on the whole, in favour of your latest choice. My opinions, of course, will coincide with yours, because I have to rely on your letters for all the information I possess. In any case my own opinions are of secondary importance. You are the man on the spot and are best able to judge.

There is just one point which I should like to remind you of and that is the possibility of my marrying outside the Kashmiri community. If you ever consider this practicable you will find me strongly in favour of it.

Since I wrote to you last time about the scheme for the restriction of Indians at Cambridge I have had no further news about it. In the current number of an influential Review[1] here there is an article advocating this, so there was some truth in the report after all.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. *The Cambridge Review*, the journal of the senior members of the University.

68. To Father

Cambridge
Feb. 3, 10

My dear Father,

Your first letter from home came last week. I am glad you found nearly everybody there well. I hope Chandar[1] too recovered soon.

We are having a somewhat quiet time here now that the elections are over. The advent of the new comet—the Miners' comet[2] as it is called—proved mildly exciting, but even that is rapidly leaving us. Cambridge is particularly well placed for observing it, so say the astronomers and others who have seen it. Nearly every other person here has seen it. I have ventured out on several occasions and searched the heavens for it but it has eluded me so far. However, it matters little. Old Halley[3] is coming soon and I shall reserve my energies for it.

I was mightily surprised the other day to read in an Indian paper that this year's Allahabad exhibition[4] would have an aerial section! And that airship and aeroplane flights will be attempted!! Who would have thought Allahabad capable of it?

There has been no more skating since I wrote to you last—or, to be more accurate, there was a little skating but I did not indulge in it. It is warm again now.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Chandar Handoo (d. 1968); daughter of Ladli Prasad Zutshi, a cousin of Jawaharlal.
2. So known because it was first seen by miners in Transvaal on 12 January 1910. It was visible in Europe from about 20 January to 7 February.
3. The famous comet which can be seen once every seventy-five years and is popularly believed to portend the death of a king.
4. The Industrial Exhibition was opened on 1 December 1910. For the first time in India, aeroplanes were on display.

69. To Father

Cambridge
Feb. 11, 10

My dear Father,

I am sending you Keir Hardie's *India*, which you say was not included in the packing case. *The Daily News Year Book* is out of print and cannot be obtained. Instead of it I am sending you Hazell's *Annual* which is a most useful publication.

Nanni wrote to me a Hindi letter last week. It was a most queer and formal epistle. I suppose the pandit had a hand in it.

I hope Prithinathji[1] is getting better.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Prithinath Chak (1858-1910); a leading lawyer of Kanpur. Motilal Nehru had first set up practice with him.

70. To Father[1]

Cambridge
April 1st 1910

My dear Father,

...I am extremely glad to hear that you and the cough have parted company at last. I did not have a very high opinion of homoeopathy till now, but henceforth I shall treat it with greater respect.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.

71. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
May 12, 1910

My dear Father,

The past week has not been a very cheerful one. Black is the colour that one meets at every turn. Even the shop windows do not contain any glaring things, and generally have a dark and sombre look. The King's[1] death has upset most functions; the tripos unhappily remains unaffected. Nothing connected with it has suffered any change. Even the lectures proceeded as usual on the very day the King's death became known. I am sure all schools & colleges in India must have been closed for some time.

It was on Friday last—the day I wrote to you—that we first heard of the King's illness. And that night he died. Newsboys were yelling out the news all over England soon after midnight. I was sorry to hear of it for he was not a bad fellow. And the suddenness of his death had an element of the tragic about it. He had an amazing knack of making himself popular and that in itself is no small thing.

On Tuesday last the new King[2] was proclaimed here. The Vice-Chancellor read out the communication from his "dearly beloved" brethren of the Privy Council, and then the proclamation itself : "Whereas it has pleased Almighty God" etc. A couple of gorgeously attired trumpeters were present but unhappily their command of the trumpets was of the most limited kind and consequently the result was not of as dignified a character as the occasion merited.

The King was separately proclaimed for the town. The old Mayor went about from place to place, with a huge gilt mace, and proclaimed to all and sundry at various street corners "that the High and Mighty Prince George, Frederick, Albert" etc. had rightfully succeeded to the throne of his forefathers.

One of the saddest consequences of the death of Edward the VII of Blessed and Glorious memory has been, from my point of view, the loss of several days' work. The black borders in the newspapers have had a curious fascination for me and much of the time that I might have more usefully employed has been spent in perusing the papers. It was such an inconvenient time for him to die, just when my trip was going to come off, and, as the New York papers said, just when

1. Edward VII; died on 6 May 1910.
2. George V, 1865-1936.

Mr. Roosevelt[3] was going to visit England! However, if even Mr. Roosevelt's forthcoming visit was not sufficient to put off the sad event, I have little cause to complain about my trip.

The weather here has been most changeable, and apparently not to my liking. I have had a bit of a cold for a day or so, and am not enjoying it at the present moment. I am paying the penalty for having remained immune from colds during the winter. But I hope to recover from it soon unless Halley's comet puts an end to this distressful world, an event which is confidently expected to take place on the 18th of this month. If you ever get this letter, you can conclude that the Earth is going to have another seventy years of life at least.

I am glad the house at Mussoorie is a satisfactory one. Mother writes to me that she is already feeling better. I hope she will make up there all the ground she lost during her last illness.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

3. Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1918); President of the United States, 1901-09.

72. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
27. 5. 10

My dear Father,

In your last letter you say that you are already expecting the telegram announcing my success. I am afraid there is practically no chance of your ever seeing that desired telegram. A third of the trip is over and I have done very badly in it. My only chance now lies in doing something wonderful in the remaining papers. This is not probable and so I am afraid the cable will remain unsent.

I have had five papers so far. The first was an Essay paper and in this I did not excel. The idea of the essay apparently is to test the candidate's capability of writing a scientific paper. Fortunately it does not carry many marks. The next two papers were in Chemistry. I rather fancied myself at that subject and hoped to do a good paper. I lived to learn how extremely little I really know. It was a bad beginning but far worse was to follow. The Botany papers came next and thoroughly damped my ardour. Apart from my knowledge or want of knowledge of the subject I was in such a bad mood on the day that I could hardly understand the questions. A headache is hardly cal-

culated to help one in an exam. You will understand my state of mind when I tell you that in one question I actually went to the length of describing a totally different family of plants from the one asked for! And all this due to a slight misapprehension of the question. The result was that I did a perfectly vile paper which could not have been worse by any manner of means. Unless I do something to redeem myself in Geology and in the practicals, my doom is sealed.

Roosevelt came here yesterday and I managed to hear his address at the Union. It consisted of his usual platitudes, according to his own confession. But he certainly spoke in an interesting manner, and favoured us many times with his pretty smile. He looks a most energetic person. No one could possibly mistake him for a quiet sort of individual.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

73. To Father

Trinity College,
Cambridge
June 3rd 1910

My dear Father,
In my last letter I expressed the pious hope that I might be able to give you better news of my trip this week. I am afraid that is not to be. I have not done a single paper in a satisfactory manner. I have not done the Geology papers as badly as I did the Botany ones. But then it was hardly possible to sink so low again. I have now finished with Geology altogether, and that is some consolation. The only subjects left are the practicals in Chemistry & Botany. These come off early next week. The Chemistry one is in the nature of a trial of endurance. It lasts continuously from 9 in the morning to 4— a period of seven hours. Personally I feel very tired after three hours practical, and so I am not exactly looking forward to Tuesday next. I think I shall have to arm myself with various cordials & stimulants to carry me successfully through the day.

It will be excessively distressing if I do not even get a third in the trip, but I really fail to see how I can get that on the choice papers I have done. Nothing wonderful is likely to happen in the remaining papers and so I suppose the position will remain unaltered, unless, indeed, it is changed for the worse.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

74. To Father[1]

60, Elgin Crescent,
Holland Park, W.
June 17th 1910

My dear Father,

The result of my trip was to come out yesterday and I had asked the college porter to wire it to me. But no wire came and so I was led to believe that I must have sunk to the lowest depths. The reason however was not this. I had forgotten to tip the porter and he revenged himself by not wiring till today. I thus knew of my result first from the *Times*. I fully expected to see my name somewhere very low down the list and therefore I just scanned the pass men and the third class batch. My heart sank within me when I found that my name was not there. The sorrow however was short-lived and I rejoiced to see myself included in the second class people. I do not know if you expected me to get a first. I certainly did not deserve it, and if I had managed to reach those Olympian heights — a contingency which was not wholly impossible — it would have been mostly due to extreme good luck. As a matter of fact luck was certainly not on my side in the exam. Under the circumstances I would have been very content with a third, and I should be much surprised if I was not very near it as it was....

The degree day is sometime early next week. I am much exercised as to what to wear on the occasion. A perfectly black suit is required and I do not possess such an article...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.

75. To Father[1]

London
June 24th 1910

My dear Father,

I was extremely pleased to know from the cable you sent me that you were satisfied with the result of my trip. After all that was the chief end in view and if that is accomplished no one else has any cause to grumble.

1. Extracts.

I went to Cambridge last Sunday and came back last evening. The degree ceremony took place on Tuesday. After much thought I had come to the conclusion that evening attire would be most suitable for the occasion. I knew that very few people in our College were going to wear it but that did not shake me from my resolve. As it happened there was only one other person in the Trinity batch, which was not far short of 100, who shared the honour with me of wearing evening dress. The ceremony itself was a commendably short one. Each person knelt before the Vice-Chancellor with his hands joined together in front, in the Indian fashion. The V. C. muttered something about the grace of God in Latin and lo and behold! he was a graduate of Cambridge University....

With love,

your loving son
Jawahar

76. To Mother[1]

London
June 24, 1910

My dear Mother,

I went to Cambridge last Sunday. There I took my B.A. degree. After getting all my things packed, I returned here yesterday.

You asked me in your previous letter if I would treat you with respect after my return to India. I was really very surprised to read that. What do you think of me that you ask me such a question? If an illiterate man does not respect his mother, people have a very low opinion of him. So if I, who have a little education, behave so badly, it would be still worse. What is the use of a man being educated if he does not know how to behave towards his parents? I am sorry I cannot write more just now. More next week.

From your loving son
Jawahar

1. Original in Hindi.

77. To Father

60 Elgin Cres.
London W.
July 15, 1910

My dear Father,

In your last letter you indulge in an alluring and comforting forecast of my future career. I will not spoil the picture by any disparaging remarks of my own, but I will at least correct certain impressions of yours about Cambridge degrees. Even if I succeed in getting through the Law Trip and get the LL.B. it does not follow that the LL.D. will automatically descend on me. Before that happy event I should have to get through two exams or at any rate write 2 original theses on legal topics. The first thesis if accepted would result in my getting the LL.M. degree. The second thesis, written many years after taking my ordinary degree, might result in the LL.D.

I think I wrote to you some time ago about the advisability of my spending the next year or so at Oxford instead of Cambridge. I have been weighing the pros & cons and have come to the conclusion that it would be a very desirable idea, provided of course I could enter a decent Oxford College. I am getting rather bored with Cambridge and would like a change very much. If I went up to Oxford I should have to read for the ordinary law exam which confers the B.A. degree. The B.C.L. is hardly possible as it is a very hard exam. If I got through the former exam I would be a B.A. or rather an M.A. of both Cambridge and Oxford. I can afford to spend a year or even two years at Oxford without any material alteration in my plans. I shall only finish eating my Bar dinners in Easter 1912, that is, if I do not miss any intervening terms. And spending two years at Oxford would mean my being there till June 1912, which is a matter of two months more. However, this is not the point at issue just at present. What must be first decided is whether the next year is to be spent at Oxford or Cambridge. Even if you think that I had better spend only one more year at the 'Varsity, I am all for spending that year at Oxford. If later on you wish me to spend the next year too at Oxford, that is the year 1911-12, and if I find that I am making sufficient progress, I might have a shot at the B.C.L. However, this, as I said before, can be decided later on. In the meantime I shall write to some Oxford Colleges and make suitable inquiries. I don't suppose I shall do much before my return from Norway. If you could send a cable to me to signify your assent or otherwise to my proposal it would reach me just about that time and would give me more time to arrange matters.

My chief reason for wishing to go to Oxford is not any ardent desire on my part to get an Oxford degree. Cambridge is becoming too full of Indians, in spite of the fact that the position of Indians is becoming more and more impossible every year. Oxford is still supposed to be a better place in that respect. Besides I really feel so tired of Cambridge.

If no decent college at Oxford will take me, I fall back on Cambridge. I shall have no difficulty about that. All I have to do is to go up there next term.

I shall sail tomorrow for Norway.

With love,

your loving son

Jawahar

78. To Father

St. Ives,
Private Family Hydro,
Maidenhead
August 5, 1910

My dear Father,

I came here yesterday from London with the intention of spending a pleasant week near the river. There is little chance however of the wish being realised. It has been raining since last night and there are no indications of its clearing up in the near future. We have been rash enough to hire an electric launch for the week, but the investment is hardly likely to prove profitable if this sort of weather continues.

I have been expecting a cable from you about my joining Oxford since Monday last. I hope you will send one soon. In the meantime I am corresponding with my tutor about it.

It is rather late now to write to you about Norway and my adventures during the cruise. I will therefore just refer to a few incidents which might interest you.

At a place called Visnes we left the boat for an overland excursion. We saw some most magnificent scenery on our way and eventually spent the night at a primitive kind of hotel about four or five thousand feet above sea level. I being one of the most energetic members of the party arrived at this place with another some time before the others. Both of us felt so hot after our tedious climb that we decided to have a bath immediately. The hotel people were much surprised

by this strange request. Nobody there apparently indulged in such a luxury. After some thought, however, they informed us that some times, when people wanted to wash themselves, they went down to the river. We therefore went to the rushing mountain torrent, which was called the river, and plunged in. The stream came from a glacier nearby and the water was of course icy cold. We were both quite numbed on entering. After a while my foot slipped and I completely lost control of myself. I was being merrily borne along the current when my companion stopped me. The exciting part of it lies in the fact that there was a mighty water-fall of about 400 ft. quite near. I am sure I could not have stopped myself before I reached the bottom of the fall.

I am afraid I cannot write more now as the time is limited.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

79. To Father

London W.
Aug. 19, 1910

My dear Father,

I was much saddened to learn of the deaths of Ajudhia Nath and Mr. Shamsuddin[1] by cholera. I am anxiously waiting for tomorrow's mail to satisfy myself that all others are safe. It is very lucky that many of our family are away from Allahabad at the present moment. Otherwise I would have been in an awful state of anxiety. I hope you took the first opportunity to depart from Allahabad.

We came back from Maidenhead on Monday last. I would have gone to France on my return, but for the difficulty of arranging about my joining an Oxford college. My efforts in this direction have not met with any success so far. I have applied to three colleges, Oriel, Trinity and New, and from none of these have I got a satisfactory answer. Oriel is the one I should best like to join. The head of Oriel is away from Oxford at present and so I have had no definite answer from him yet. Trinity, the next most suitable college, refused to commit itself. They said they might possibly take me at the last moment if some changes were made. But I can hardly wait till term

1. Close friends of Motilal Nehru.

on the off chance of being taken into Trinity. New College definitely says it cannot take me. I shall apply to a few other colleges and let you know the result next week. The most convenient thing for me to do wouid have been to go up to Oxford and interview the various heads of colleges. I thought of doing this but then I found that this course would have a serious drawback. As it is I write to the head of the college and give him a list of my qualifications without mentioning the fact that I am an Indian. If he once promised to take me, it will be hard for him to get out of his promise when he found out that I am an Indian. If, however, I went to see him first he might refuse point blank to take me.

In one of your recent letters you suggest my giving up the idea of going to a 'Varsity at all and instead making London my headquarters. I think I should far prefer going to Oxford, if that is possible. If I find that no good Oxford college will take me, I might then think of giving London a chance.

I am going to Buxton tomorrow for a week or so. After that the long-thought-of project of going to the continent might possibly come off.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

80. To Father

Casino de Dieppe
22. 9. 1910

My dear Father,

We came here from Paris yesterday and intend stopping here for about four days. On Sunday next I hope to go back to London and thus to end my wanderings for the summer of 1910. I have done quite a vast lot of travelling during the last few months and shall be quite pleased to settle down and do some work. This continual moving about is, as you well know, far from inexpensive and I was in a bad state when your welcome cheque arrived on the scene.

There is hardly any necessity for me to reply to your arguments for and against the advisability of my going to Oxford. I have already decided to remain in London and so a discussion on the subject can

have no practical interest. I intend doing Law, and law alone, for the next few months. I shall see what progress I make in it and, if I think I can spare the time, I shall join the School of Economics. However that can be seen to later on. In the meantime I shall attend the usual courses of lectures, and might possibly have a shot at one of the exams. in December. This will probably be Criminal Law, as that appears to be the easiest and the most interesting.

As regards my devilling for some one, I shall make the enquiries you suggest. I don't think there is any rule about the applicant passing a certain number of exams. before he is taken. Of course it would be futile my going into chambers without any previous knowledge of law. It will also be scarcely profitable for me to visit the Law Courts frequently unless I can follow the procedure with ease. I hope you will be able to get a good K.C. to take me. I think a person who has an English practice will be far preferable to a Privy Council one.

This is hardly the place for a long letter and so I shall not say anything about my marriage question — about which you write at length in your last. Hope to write something about it next week.

Dieppe is quite deserted at present. The season officially ends in a few days time and most people are rapidly going away.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

P. S. You were needlessly scared about my Norwegian bathing adventure. There was no danger in my bathing in the cold water as I am in the habit of taking cold baths even in winter here. And that was by no means the first time that I had taken a cold bath in the open. As regards the choice of such an unsafe position, that was not intentional. We did not know that the waterfall was so near till after the bath. I can assure you that I was highly pleased with my adventure and would not have missed it for a lot. The after effects were nothing so terrible as you seem to imagine. There is nothing like a cold plunge after a weary climb and I distinctly remember how particularly fit I felt after the plunge. I did not weigh myself before & after the trip to Norway but I am sure I did not lose any weight by it. At one time over fifty of our fellow passengers were unwell, some owing to the rough sea. I need hardly say that I was not one of these unhappy people. You need never have any anxiety about my health. I am one of the most violently healthy persons I have come across. Nothing seems to upset my state of equilibrium.

Jawahar

81. To Father[1]

60, Elgin Crescent,
Holland Park, W.
Nov. 4th 1910

My dear Father,

. . . Some of us here are going to give the Gaikwar[2] an At Home in a fortnight's time. It is going to be on a fairly large scale and so we have to labour greatly in order to make it a success.

With love,

your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda (1863-1939).

82. To Father

London
11. 11. 10

My dear Father,

I was very pleased to know by your last that mother is making satisfactory progress. I have not had a letter from her for ever so long. I hope she will be well enough to write to me soon.

I have not made any arrangements with the School of Economics yet, but I intend doing so soon. The chief difficulty is, as I wrote to you, the want of the requisite time. The Economics course is a full year's one, and consists of numerous lectures a week. If I join the school next term and attend the lectures assiduously, it would mean less time for my legal studies. Personally I am convinced that the time spent in Economics will be highly useful to me. I was very glad to learn that you agree with me in this. As a matter of fact my chief reason for desiring to go to Oxford or Cambridge for another year was that I might be able to devote some time to Economics and the allied subjects. I did not know at the time that I would have greater facilities for that study in London. I think it would be a great pity if I failed to take advantage of the opportunity offered me, merely to have some extra time for law. I shall go and interview the Secretary of the School some time next week and shall let you know what decision we arrive at. As the course begins in the October term, I shall have to start in *Medias Res*, if I joined next term. But on the other hand if I put off joining the school, I may have even less time next year.

We are still very busy about the Gaikwar At Home. The *piece de resistance* on our programme will be a series of tableaux from Omar Khayyam. They will be taken from Dulac's illustrations to Omar.[1] I believe you have got that book and so you can form some idea of what guys we are going to make ourselves. Unfortunately we only decided about it a few days ago and so have got very little time left. We have to be rehearsing most of the time and the spare time is filled up by visiting Mr. Clarkson[2] to arrange about the wigs & make-ups. There was a great scarcity of men willing to take part in the tableaux and so I had to offer myself most unwillingly.

It is very cold here now. The rain and the fog have also started.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Edmund Dulac published his illustrations to *The Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam in 1909.
2. Well-known couturier of London.

83. To Father

60, Elgin Crescent,
Holland Park, W.
Dec. 2nd 1910

My dear Father,

We are again in the midst of a General Election and the excitement on both sides is great. The party moves are most interesting to watch for an outsider. The betting was, I think, 5 to 1 in favour of the Liberals a few days ago. Since Mr. Balfour's[1] declaration about the Referendum it has practically become level. The first results will be announced tomorrow evening and I hope to be in Fleet Street or near it at the time.

I went to the School of Economics a short time ago to enquire about the feasibility of my joining it. They told me, as I fully expected, that it would be hard for me to start off in the middle of the course, specially as my knowledge of economics is limited. Under the circumstances it would be hardly worth while for me to join next term. I think the best course for me would be to join next October term.

1. Arthur James Balfour, Conservative politician, Prime Minister of Britain, 1902-05; offered to submit the principles of tariff reforms to a referendum.

Last year when you were in England you wished to get a number of gramophone records, I hope you succeeded in getting them in India. There are some very fine ones just out and I hope you will get them if they are available in India. "The Chocolate Soldier" waltz is a most enchanting tune and another good one is the "Quaker Girl" waltz.

Various people have written to me that you are likely to come here next summer. I was very pleased to hear this and I hope the news will turn out to be true.

With love,

from your loving son

Jawahar

84. To Father

38 Gloucester Terrace
Lancaster Gate
10. 2. 11

My dear Father,

I have at last changed my rooms. I moved to my new abode on Monday last and am on the whole satisfied with my choice. The rooms are not at all bad and are very conveniently situated for me. The food too is good and so, unfortunately, is the price.

I have been in great need of money lately and so I wired the magic word to you on Saturday night. For once however it failed to evoke the usual response. I suppose the unhappy thing went astray. It is not the first time that the cable has proved a false friend. I hope tomorrow's mail will bring some relief, otherwise I am sorely afraid I shall have to fall back on the good offices of the Eastern Telegraph Company again, with, I trust, better results.

I wrote to Mr. Leslie Porter[1] soon after getting your letter, and expressed a wish to see him. I have had no answer from him yet.

As I wrote to you before, I am thinking of appearing for the Constitutional exam this term. I do not know whether you expect me to do so or not. But the more I think of it the better I am convinced that it is futile lingering over the bar exams. I wish I had got through some already. After all, however well one may do in the exams it does not nearly help one so much as some practical experience.

1. Sir Leslie Porter (1854-1932); a member of the Indian Civil Service who served in the United Provinces.

I find that my removal to my new quarters has had a marked effect on my capacity for work. Or possibly this is due to the fact that the exams are not far off. The proximity of an exam does act as a wonderful stimulant. I am also pleased to say that Jivan, who is all by himself at 60 Elgin Cres, is working hard now.

I have nothing else to say except that winter is still with us and spring is a long time in coming. I am getting bored with the dismal weather.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

85. To Father

38 Gloucester Terrace W.
17. 3. 11

My dear Father,

I am sorry to learn that there is no chance of your coming here next summer. I should have much liked to have you here, but as it is I suppose I shall have to shift for myself.

I was pleased to get your letters by the aerial post last week. You may not have forgotten yet that I used to collect stamps in the days of my infancy. The passion for doing so has not wholly died out of me and I shall treasure up the souvenirs of the first aerial post.

The photos have at last come from Lafayettes.[1] I shall send them off today but you may not get them till next week. I have been extravagant enough to go in for some pencil drawings. But sad to say they do not please me at all. The *carte de visite* photos are not good either. It is curious how Lafayette insists on spoiling all the photos he takes of me. The proofs he sent me were quite good, but in his efforts to improve on them he has spoilt them.

I am sending you half a dozen of each kind. I hope you will distribute them amongst the various people who are desirous of possessing a copy of my photograph.

With love,

your loving son
Jawahar

1. A famous photographer in London.

86. To Father

38 Gloucester Terrace
Hyde Park W
April 21st 1911

My dear Father,

I hope you will forgive me for my missing last week's mail, although I must say it was an inexcusable offence. Year after year I fall into the same error, and experience fails to teach me that a Good Friday is as good or bad a day here as Sunday. I did not write my letters on Thursday and on the day after I discovered that there would be no collection. I don't suppose I shall have many more Good Fridays in England but in case I am here for another I shall take good care not to repeat my previous errors.

I am afraid you misunderstood me about the proposals I made about the advisability of your opening an account with the Times Book Club. It was only a mere suggestion and as it does not meet with your approval it of course remains in its embryo state. But I wish to explain that I never meant you to give me, as you put it, "a *carte blanche* to buy up the Times Book Club library." The Times library would take a lot of buying and even if it could be easily bought I doubt if many persons would be foolish enough to invest in it. I think I have outgrown the desire for possessing a lot of gilt bound books simply for the sake of their fine appearance. A book which I would like to buy will probably have something in it which is likely to possess a permanent interest for me. And books like these cannot be bought wholesale. That is why I am all against buying a large quantity of books at a time. A library should in my opinion be built up gradually and with care, and it was in order to do this that I asked you to have an account with the Book Club.

It is not worth while my going away from London now as I am going to appear for Roman Law in a month's time. After that I shall of course be away from London for the whole summer. I hope to come back here towards the end of September in order to join the School of Economics. I gave you my reasons for not joining it last term some time ago. I would not have been able to derive much benefit from the course if I started in the middle of it.

I think I shall finish keeping my terms in April or at the latest June of next year.

We have had the most delightful weather imaginable for the last ten days.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

87. To Father

38 Gloucester Terrace W.
12. 5. 11

My dear Father,

Thank you very much for the £100. I got them about a fortnight ago but forgot to write to you about them.

You asked me sometime ago to send you some stationery. I am sorry it has not been sent to you yet. I visited several stationers but could not decide which kind of note paper to send you. To simplify matters I am now having several kinds sent. Some are rather fancy and you may possibly not like them. In that case I hope the ladies there will not take unkindly to them. In case you like any kind and wish to have some more of it, please send me a specimen sheet. I have not had all the envelopes stamped at the back, as you wished. I did not think some would look nice with the address. The paper I am writing on is the best the Times Book Club can supply. Do you care for it at all?

I have been greatly troubled lately by various people asking me to take a part in the pageant which is going to take place in the Crystal Palace this summer. In a foolish moment I even gave my consent to this, but I am now trying to back out of it.

I have been playing a fair amount of tennis lately and feel much better for it.

With love,

your loving son
Jawahar

88. To Father

38 Gloucester Terrace W.
26. 5. 11

My dear Father,

I am sorry to have caused you so much anxiety by not writing to you on that wretched Good Friday. Mother seems to be very keen on getting letters from me, but is not equally fond of writing herself. It is over a month and a half now since I heard from her last. I have a good mind to cable to you about her and Nanni, unless I get a letter from them tomorrow.

I am in the midst of the musical festival now. I have had to go there everyday this week and am going again today & tomorrow. It has fallen at a most unfortunate time as I have my exam on Tuesday next.

I did not know the date of the exam when I got the tickets for it. And it would be a pity to waste them now, specially as I paid a goodly price for them.

It has been excessively warm here lately.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

89. To Father

38 Gloucester Terrace
2. 6. 11

My dear Father,
Your letters have been singularly short lately and I was wondering why this was so. I am sorry to hear that it was due to your eyes giving you trouble. I hope you will take better care of them whilst motoring in future.

I had as usual no letter from mother and Nanni last week. I thought the situation demanded strong measures and so I wired to you about her health. I was very pleased to get your answer the next morning. But I am still at a loss to know why she should refrain from writing to me.

I went up for Criminal Law last Tuesday and I am sorry to say that I did a vile paper. It was much worse than my Constitutional Law paper and according to that standard I ought not to get through. This eventuality will of course be very annoying but I think it will do me a lot of good. Or, rather, the mere prospect of it has been most beneficial to me. In case I do not get through, as seems probable, I shall appear for the remaining prelims, that is Criminal Law, Roman Law and Real Property in September or October next whenever the next exam is. I hope to do better than I have done so far. If I manage to get through the lot I shall have only the final left. This I can take either in December or April. The former will I think be too near but, if you wish it, I could try then. April would suit me better. In that very month I shall finish my dinners.

I have not been out of London since Xmas last and am sick unto death of it. This afternoon I am going to St. Leonards for a few days. After that I shall go to Cambridge and then somewhere far away from London for the summer. I would go away for good very soon but something or other keeps me here and I have to stay. The Indian Pageant idea has, I am thankful to say, fallen through. But there are so many other things besides it which I cannot very well cut.

I wrote to Sir John Stanley[1] a few days ago and in his reply he asked me to see him on Sunday next. Unfortunately I shan't be here then. I hope to see him on my return from St. Leonards.

I am awfully sorry to trouble you again for money. I might go away to France in a short time and I should like to have some before departing. I have been, I am afraid, very extravagant lately. This could have been partly avoided, but part of it was quite involuntary and hardly to be helped. I was foolish enough to run up some bills and these have been the bane of my existence since. Most of these have been paid off but some still remain and I want to be rid of these as soon as I can. Could you please send me £150? I could then pay off all these outstanding debts and, what is more important, leave you in peace for some time after. You must have felt very bored at my incessant demands during the last few months. Please send me part of it at least by wire.

The fine weather continues here. We had a terrific thunderstorm yesterday but that has hardly improved the situation. It is even warmer now than it was before and it is very hard to go out in the day time.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court, 1901-11.

90. To Father

The Union Society
Cambridge
16. 6. 11

My dear Father,

I got two letters from you last week, which accounted for your silence the week before.

I came here last Tuesday with the intention of spending a couple of days here. But as I had nothing to do in town I prolonged my stay here. I hope to go down tomorrow or the day after.

One of the reasons why I came here was to see the Indians' match against Cambridge. As usual, their performance was as feeble as it could well be.[1] I think the best thing they can do is to pack off and go back to India with great speed.

1. Cambridge won by an innings and 71 runs.

There was a convocation here a day or two ago in which degrees were conferred on distinguished visitors. Among these were the Maharaja of Bikanir[2] and the Aga Khan[3]. It is the custom to cheer the recipients of these degrees and everyone was cheered except the afore-mentioned two gentlemen. Besides the Chancellor did not deign to get up for them when giving the degree, although he got up for every one else, even for such a villain as Lee-Warner[4].

I have had my photograph taken in hood and gown and hope to send it to you in two or three weeks' time.

I have managed to get through Criminal Law. I shall take the two remaining prelims — Roman Law and Real Property — in October. In case I get through both then, would you like me to take my final in December? I can either take it then or in March next. I shall finish eating my dinners in March or April next. Have you decided anything about my going into Chambers?

I am so sorry to hear that you have been unwell. I am afraid you are not very careful nowadays about your health. It is absolutely essential for you to take proper exercise and rest, considering the amount of work you do.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

2. Maharaja Ganga Singh (1880-1943); a leading Indian prince.
3. The Aga Khan (1875-1957); spiritual head of the Ismaili Muslims, was active in Indian politics till 1947.
4. Sir William Lee-Warner (1846-1914); a member of the Indian Civil Service, and a specialist in British relations with the Indian princes.

91. To Father

38 Gloucester Terrace W.
23. 6. 11

My dear Father,

The coronation is at last over and one can have some rest now. I have been foolish enough to waste some time over the various processions. I did not see much of yesterday's, but this morning I had a fine view, although we went very late. Contrary to all expectations the streets were not very crowded, and many seats in the stands were unoccupied. The warnings in the newspapers frightened away a lot

of people. Special barriers had been erected to prevent over-crowding but they were hardly ever used. We did not intend seeing the processions this morning, it was more or less forced on us. We were wandering about the neighbourhood when the procession started and so we stopped to see it.

I wired to you about mother's health because I had not had a letter from her for the preceding seven weeks. I got one from her last week after a long interval. She says that she has been writing to me every week. I suppose her letters were not properly addressed.

The Indian Union Society was founded a few years ago with the object of promoting social intercourse amongst the Indian men & women in London. Ladies are thus members of the Society—in fact the present president is a lady. Some English people are also members of the Society.

I have not yet decided when to leave London.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

92. To Father

26 Oswald Rd.,
Oswestry
10. 8. 11

My dear Father,

I have had great difficulty in getting my letters this week. They have followed me from place to place, and those from India have only just reached me. Yours was not among them. It might not have been forwarded to me to the right address, but it is more likely that you missed the mail. Mother's and Nan's letters reached me all right.

We have been to several places since I wrote to you last from Dolgelly. They are all very near each other, often within easy walking distance. I am now staying with Kunwar Parshad Dar[1] who has attached himself to the Cambrian Railway, which runs in this part of the world.

1. Kunwar Prasad Dar (1887-1918); brother-in-law of Mohanlal Nehru, Jawaharlal's cousin. He went to Wales for training in railway management; and on his return served in the Oudh and Rohilkhand railways till his death.

I have not yet succeeded in finding the place I hoped to find where we could make a fairly lengthy stay. Tomorrow we intend going to Brecon in South Wales, from where we shall probably go on to Bath or some other place in the neighbourhood. I hope to have better luck there. In any case I am determined not to go back to London for another four or five weeks at least.

The term of the London School of Economics begins I think towards the end of September. I hope to be in town then to join the School. I am afraid I shall be unable to attend their full course as that would involve my spending about 6 or seven hours a day on Economics and kindred subjects. I can hardly afford to do that as long as law remains my principal subject. But I am sure I shall derive a lot of benefit from it even if I spend much less time over it than is customary. That would not seriously interfere with my legal work either. I forget if I ever sent you a syllabus of the School. In any case I shall send you a new one when I get it and mark the lectures in it I hope to attend.

I do not know how Shridhar and Jivan are doing in their exam. The former has written to me that he has not done satisfactory papers, but of course that does not signify much. He has probably written much more to you.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

I shall probably want some money towards the end of September as I expect to have to pay various fees at the School of Economics.

93. To Father[1]

London
18th Aug. 1911

My dear Father,

...You alarm me by saying that Shamji[2] has not yet got over his shyness in speaking. I am afraid I am not less shy than he ever was. I have been consoling myself with the thought that I would soon get over it. At the present moment I can imagine nothing more terrifying than having to speak in public...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.
2. Shamji Mushran, one of Motilal Nehru's juniors at the bar.

94. To Father[1]

30 Gloucester Terrace W.
22. 9. 11

My dear Father,

. . . . The state of my head has certainly not improved lately. I think it is a little worse. I have been to the specialist twice and hope to go again in a short time. I don't suppose there is any chance of my getting back any of my lost hair. I may possibly be able to retain what little I have left. You need not trouble to send me any kind of oil. I detest using too much oil and I do not think it does much good. Nothing in the world will make hair grow if there are no roots left. All that the lotions can do is to keep the hair clean and prepare the way for any future growth. Kishan Bhai made me undergo his own particular treatment for a fortnight but it did not do me much good. I am getting rather fed up with my hair. The amount of time and money I have spent on it might have been utilised in a much better manner. . . .

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

1. Extracts.

95. To Father[1]

30 Gloucester Terrace W
Dec. 22nd 1911

My dear Father,

. . . As regards my marriage, you know my views well enough and it is hardly necessary for me to repeat them here. I do not, and cannot possibly, look forward with relish to the idea of marrying a girl whom I do not know. At the same time I acknowledge that your solution of the difficulty is the only one, if it is taken for granted that I am to marry a Kashmiri girl. And on the whole, I think, it would not be particularly pleasing to most people concerned if I married a non-Kashmiri. If she was the Blue Bird you were in search of it would be a different matter, but Blue Birds are as rare in the non-Kashmiris as in the Kashmiris. If you are intent on my getting engaged to the girl you mention I have no objection to offer. Only I should like you

1. Extracts.

to put it off till I have seen her. That ought not to disarrange matters very much as I expect to be back in India before long. If you think you cannot manage this then you are welcome to do as you wish and I shall abide by your decision...

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

96. To Father

30 Gloucester Terrace W.
29. 12. 11

My dear Father,

Your last letter came from Delhi and contained an account of the State entry. Your next I hope will be about the Durbar[1] itself, and will contain all about the Gaekwar incident[2]. The papers here have said a lot about it but none of them has given a complete account. I think it was silly of the Gaekwar to do as he did, and sillier still to humbly apologise for it after he had done it. But silliest of all was his justification to the *Times*.

I have made up my mind to leave London for a few days at least and am going to Matlock in Derbyshire tomorrow I may stay there for a week or more. In any case I shall be back by the 15th when the bar lectures begin. I wanted to go for Christmas but I have been rather hard up lately and could not make up my mind to go. The result was I had a perfectly sickening Christmas here and resolved to go out of town for the New Year at any cost. I have borrowed money for the purpose and thereby again increased my debts which were gradually lessening themselves. At the present moment, you will be surprised to hear, I believe I owe about £150! I am afraid I have no money sense. The more I attempt to economise the less I succeed in doing so. I do not know how much I have spent in the course of this year, but I know it must be far more than I have ever done before. And yet I have never been flush and have always been trying to economise for the last 12 or 14 months! It is a jolly good thing that I am returning home soon, otherwise I might conceivably get into trouble.

1. The Delhi Durbar of George V was held on 12 December 1911.
2. It was alleged that at the Durbar the Gaekwar had not been appropriately dressed and had behaved with discourtesy towards the King.

I wonder if you went to the Congress at Calcutta. It seems to have been a fairly tame affair.[3]

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

3. The Congress of 1911, while thanking the British Government for annulment of the partition of Bengal, did not press for the annulment of the Seditious Meetings Act, the Press Act of 1908, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1910 under which Tilak and other political prisoners were imprisoned.

97. To Father

30 Gloucester Terrace W.
January 11, 1912

My dear Father,

I was very pleased to get your last letter and read the long account in it of the Durbar and specially the Gaekwar incident. None of the papers had given a satisfactory account of the latter and so I was all the more pleased to read about it in your letter. Since then I have seen it in several cinematograph shows, which abound in London now. The incident seldom fails to provoke hissing. I wonder if the Gaekwar's action had any connection with the Statham affair.[1] The King and Queen are well known to be very strict about mixing with divorcees or anyone else connected with a divorce case, and possibly a hint to the effect that the Gaekwar was not a *persona grata* to them may have been conveyed to him. This might have had the effect of putting his back up.

As regards the Statham case itself I think the Gaekwar could hardly have consented to appear as a party in the case. It would have created a bad precedent. Of course the alternative to this is bad enough. Most people are bound to think now that he was to blame.

The result of the bar exams came out this evening. I did not go to listen to them but I have been told that I got through Real Property. This hardly seems conceivable and I shall not be satisfied till I see my name in tomorrow's *Times*. Pran[2] has passed the same exam too.

1. A case in which the Gaekwar was accused of being the co-respondent, but could not be cited in court because of his status as an Indian prince.
2. Pran Nath Agha, a friend of Jawaharlal who later retired as District and Sessions Judge.

I am going down to Brighton tomorrow morning for a day and a night to take the taste of Matlock away. I shall be back on Saturday. On Monday the lectures start and I hope to attend them regularly.

With love,

from your loving son

Jawahar

I am so sorry to hear that Miss Rice[3] is again seriously ill. From what you write about her there does not seem to be much chance of her recovery in the near future. In any case it would be silly to count upon her as Nan's future governess. Even if she got well soon the best thing for her would be to come back to England. I am glad you have already arranged for Nan's teaching. She is almost old enough now to do without a governess, and outside teaching will probably be better than what she is likely to get from a governess. Personally I should like you to send her to school for a short time—an English girls school or even a French one. I don't suppose she will learn very much there, but I am certain six months of it would do her a vast lot of good.

I am all in favour of having Miss Hooper[4] back to look after Beti[5] and Nan.

3. The governess chosen by Jawaharlal for his sister.
4. The former governess of the Nehru sisters. She was with the Nehru family from 1905 to 1919.
5. Krishna Hutheesing (1907-1967); Jawaharlal's younger sister.

98. To Father

30 Gloucester Terrace W.
Jan. 19, '12

My dear Father,

I came back from Brighton after a couple of days' stay there in time for the bar term. I am trying to attend the final lectures now, though it is not at all easy to do so. They have lectures every morning from 10 to 12, every evening from 5 to 6 and sometimes in the afternoons too. This means that I have to get up at an extremely early hour and spend the greater part of the day at the Temple. This leaves hardly any time for work at home and I shall have to do a good bit of that before I think of appearing for the final. I did not think the final was as hard as it really is. The number of dull looking books I have to read is not at all pleasant to think of. Besides these books are most expensive. I have only got a few of them and they have cost me about £10!

I heard from Miss Hooper yesterday about her going back to Allahabad. She is coming to town soon and I hope to see her then.

I have already written to you on the subject of my marriage and have left the matter entirely in your hands. You have not told me yet who the girl in question is. I might possibly have seen her or heard of her in the days of my infancy.

It is good of Sir Robert Aikman to be so impressed by my manners. Personally I do not think that is a very great compliment to me. It shows that I must be a particularly inane person if there is nothing more striking about me than my manners. Even as regards the latter some people differ from Sir Robert. I happened to come across Mrs. Kazim Hussein[1] at some function or other last summer. I had not seen her for years and of course did not recognise her. She apparently thought that I had intentionally cut her, and she told some people afterwards that I was a conceited prig and wanted taking down a peg or two. Her husband, whom I had previously met and spoken to, fortunately had a different opinion of me, and stood up for me. Poor Mrs. Kazim Hussein is not quite all there since the death of her daughter.

I suddenly developed a violent cough last week which prevented me from sleeping for a night or two. I don't know what it was due to, but I have hardly smoked since then and it is very much better now.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

I hope you had yourself photographed in your court dress. I should like to have a copy of it.

1. The English wife of a barrister of Allahabad.

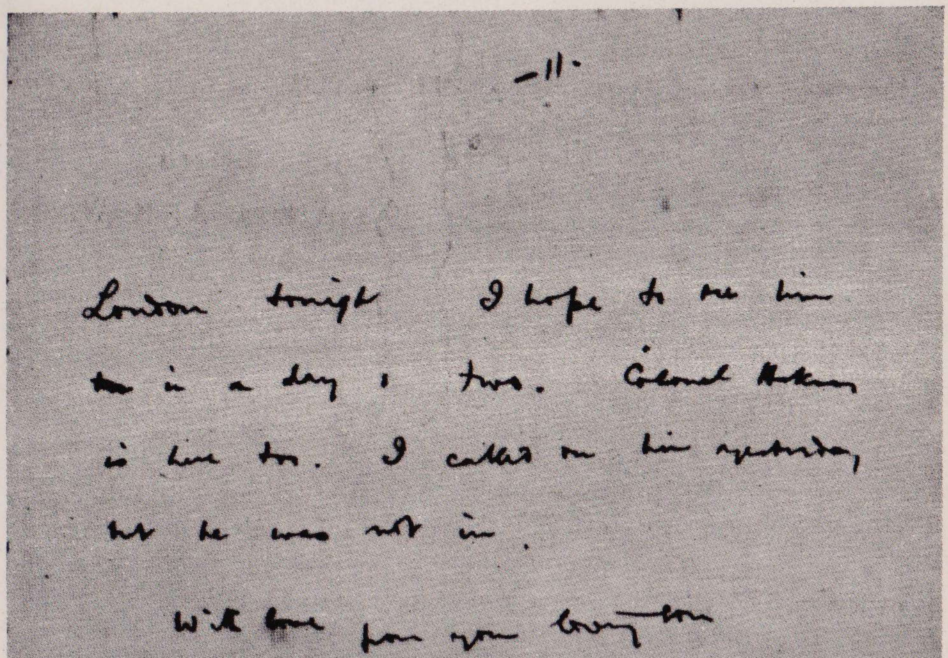
99. To Mother[1]

The Beacon Hotel,
Crowborough,
Sussex
March 14, 1912.

My dear Mother,

I have received your letter. I was worried to know about Nanni and baby. I hope both are now better.

1. Original in Hindi.



-11-

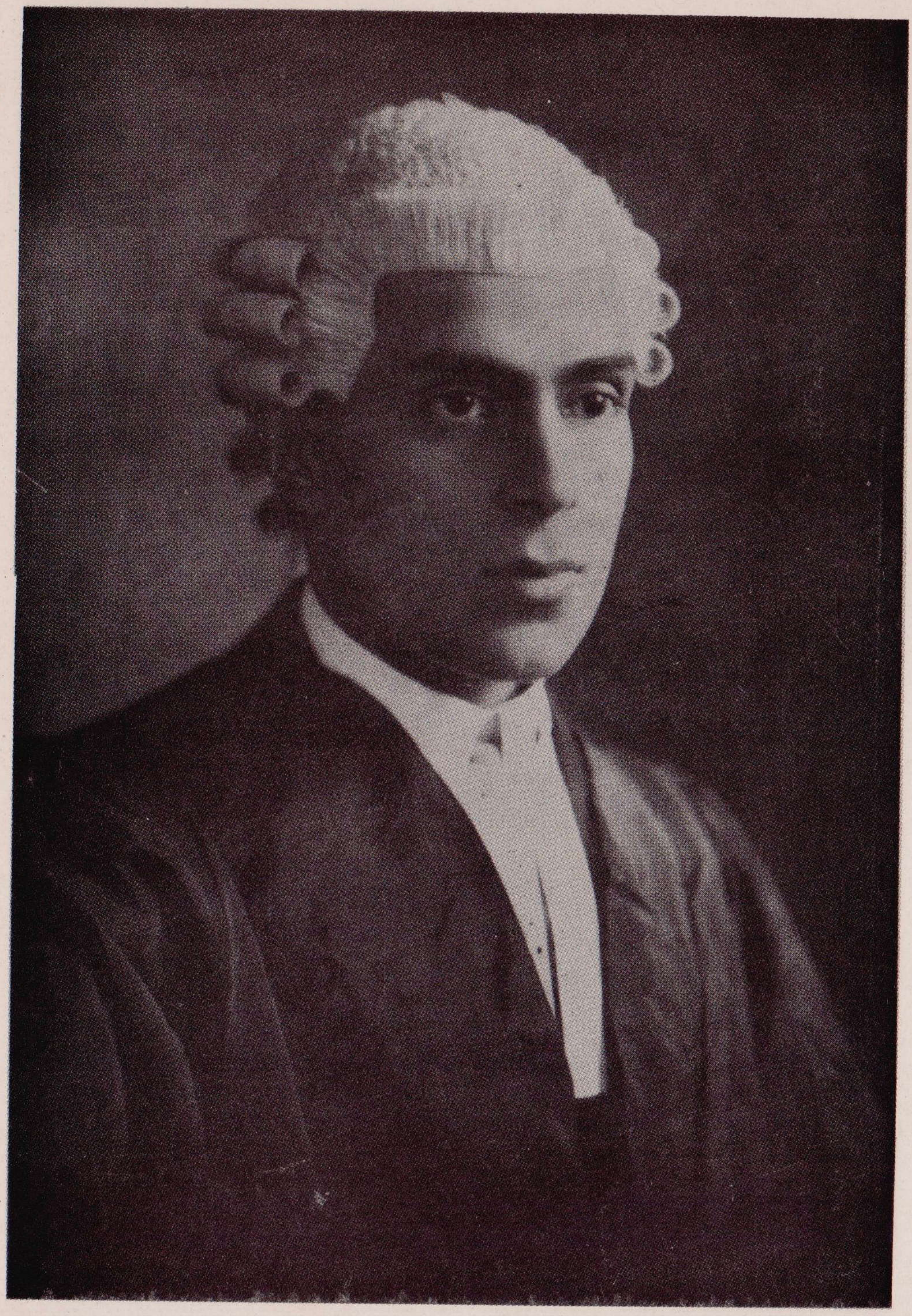
London tonight. I hope to see him in a day or two. Colonel Atkinson is here too. I called on him yesterday but he was not in.

With love from your loving son

Jawahar

If you care to see some 9 or 10 cheque books you are welcome to have them.

PHOTOSTAT COPY OF LAST PAGE OF LETTER DATED 21 JUNE 1912 TO HIS FATHER.



CALLED TO THE BAR, 1912.

You are unnecessarily annoyed with me about this matter of my marriage. My only fault is that I do not wish to marry a total stranger. Would you like me to marry a girl who I may not like for the rest of my life or who may not like me? Rather than marry in that way it would be better for me not to marry at all. After all, I have to spend my whole life with my wife. Is it surprising, then, if I wish to marry a girl whom I like? I am not obliged to like a girl of a noble family, nor is it to be taken for granted that every educated girl would come up to my expectations. I accept that any girl selected by you and father would be good in many respects, but still, I may not be able to get along well with her. In my opinion, unless there is a degree of mutual understanding, marriage should not take place. I think it is unjust and cruel that a life should be wasted merely in producing children. I do not wish to annoy either you or father in any way. It is precisely for this reason that I wrote to both of you a few months ago that if you like you may fix up my marriage. But I had no desire for marriage then, nor am I so inclined now.

Should you feel that after marriage my whole future life may be changed, please think about it carefully.

Tomorrow I shall go to London for two days. There I have to look for new rooms for my stay. After my return, I shall stay here for about 10 to 12 days.

From your loving son
Jawahar

100. To Father

60 Elgin Crescent
Holland Park W.
June 21st, 1912

My dear Father,

Your last letter[1] pained and surprised me very much. I am fully aware of the fact that I have lately spent far too much money and have not given the attention to my studies which I should or might have given. The latter did not have as disastrous results as it might have had; the former I could not very well help doing after I had

1. Motilal, after writing the letter dated 30 May 1912 referred to by Jawaharlal, expressed remorse in his next letter: "I would have given anything in the world to recall the letter and destroy it."

decided to live in such expensive quarters as King Street. Of course I should have left the place at once and moved to cheaper rooms, but the proximity of my examinations appeared to me to be a sufficient excuse for not doing so. Besides this, as you yourself have suggested, I have got to know some people who could afford to spend much more than I could, with the result that I too occasionally was rash enough to go beyond my limit. I am extremely sorry to have caused you so much inconvenience and distress of mind, and I can assure you that I would have never left the neighbourhood of Bayswater if I had known that you would be pained thereby.

As regards the £40 I lost the fault was hardly mine. Of course it is easy to be wise after the event and I repented of my folly in lending soon after doing so. At the time however I had no idea that the money would not be returned to me and I could not very well refuse. I suffered enough for my folly later on. I was driven to such straits that, for the first time in my life, I had to pawn my watch and chain.

You ask me to send you an account of my expenditure during the last six months. You have yourself suggested the answer to this in your letter. My reputation for veracity appears to be a thing of the past, and you will no doubt think my answer to be a mere excuse. But the fact remains that not only have I not kept any accounts but I have never done so and I fail to see how I am going to keep them without great difficulty. May I know if I am supposed to keep you informed of every penny I spend on a bus fare or a stamp?

I suppose you have ceased to trust me altogether if you ask me for details of my expenditure. If that is the case you may even think me capable of cooking up the accounts so as to deceive you. Either you trust me or you do not. If you do, then surely no accounts are necessary. If you do not then the accounts I send you are not to be relied upon. However the very idea of furnishing accounts is anathema and suggests of my being on ticket of leave. I am not desirous of staying in England or anywhere else a single day under these conditions. Fortunately I have done with my work and there is nothing to detain me here any longer. Under the circumstances I think it would be best for me to return home at once. You will then have greater peace of mind and I too would prefer it to remaining here in a hide bound condition. As I wrote to you some time ago, I particularly wish to stay here a little longer, but I would cheerfully give up the idea altogether than stop here in the way you have suggested in your letter.

You will probably think that I have some horrible secrets which I do not wish you to know. If you ever adopt that frame of mind, I can do nothing. My word would count for nothing and the logical result of it would be for you to have a detective after me.

I was called day before yesterday and am apparently a barrister now. The call fees amounted to £70, after deducting my £50 deposit, and this added to certain other expenses incidental to the call made me spend about £80. I did not think the fees would be so much and barely possessed the sum. In fact I had to borrow a few pounds from Shridhar to pay them. My wig and gown will cost me nearly £12. I have not got them yet as I cannot pay for them.

I believe you wish me to have myself photographed in the wig etc., and in a B.A. hood and gown. These two photos will cost me about 6 guineas. I am waiting for your next week's letter to know when I am supposed to sail. In the meantime I shall try to give you some idea of how much money I shall require. In addition to the above mentioned sums, I shall want about £35 for my fare to Bombay. This is I think the second class fare. It would be a waste of money for me to go first class. If you add another £15 to this, that would include my expenses on board and for overland journey to Marseilles or any other port.

As regards my expenses in London or wherever else I may live before going home, you are a better judge than I am. Unfortunately owing to the fact that I shall be going home in the near future, I shall have certain expenses which are usually considered unavoidable. I shall however try to avoid them and live as economically as possible.

I should like to get certain knick-knacks and other things before going home but they are not absolutely necessary. I have had practically no clothes made for over a year and at the present moment I have not got a single decent suit. My evening dress is several years old and is going to pieces. As for my morning suit it is not fit to be seen. I would have also liked to have ***** but that is neither here nor there.

But whatever sum you may choose to send me for my other expenses, I should be very thankful if you will please send me £100 over and above it to pay off my debts. The £40 I lost a couple of months ago has again swelled this sum up and I am at my wits' ends and do not know what to do.

Mr. Chakravarti is coming to London tonight. I hope to see him in a day or two. Colonel Haksar[1] is here too. I called on him yesterday but he was not in.

With love,

from your loving son
Jawahar

If you care to see some of my old cheque books you are welcome to have them.

1. Col. Kailash Narain Haksar (1878-1953); served in a number of Indian princely states and was Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir, 1943-44.

2

THE YOUNG LAWYER AND NATIONALIST

1. To Sir Sita Ram[1]

Anand Bhawan,
Allahabad
25. 6. 14

Dear Sir,

At a meeting of the U.P. South Africa Committee held on the 17th of May 1914 it was resolved to inform the donors that the money contributed by them to the U.P. South Africa Relief Fund[2] after December 22, 1913, being not required now for the relief of passive resisters in South Africa, was held by the Committee in their hands subject to the instructions of the donors. The Committee would recommend that the amount subscribed by you be made over to the Non-Official Famine Relief Fund[3] or to the Hume Memorial Fund[4], according as you wish. But of course this is a mere recommendation. Your money will be disposed of entirely according to your wishes which the Committee hope you will communicate to me within a fortnight of the receipt of this letter.

I may add that where the money has been collected from a number of persons the consent in writing of each and every individual donor will be necessary. The Committee have no power to divert or otherwise dispose of the money without such consent. The Committee hope that the collectors will be kind enough to ascertain the wishes of the individual donors and inform me of them.

I enclose a stamped post card for your reply. Please fill it in and return it to me at your early convenience.

Yours truly,
J. Nehru
Joint Secretary,
U.P. South Africa Committee

1. Sita Ram Papers, National Archives of India. Sir Sita Ram (b. 1885); a moderate politician from Meerut; President, U.P. Legislative Council, 1925-1937; High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, 1949-1950.
2. A relief fund started by the Congress in 1909, at Gokhale's instance, in aid of Gandhi's passive resistance campaign in South Africa. In 1913 Jawaharlal became Joint Secretary of the U.P. branch.
3. A fund organised by the Servants of India Society to mitigate famine conditions in Allahabad District and the eastern districts of U.P.
4. Started in 1912 to establish a memorial in honour of A.O. Hume, the British civil servant who had been sympathetic to Indian nationalist aspirations.

2. The First Public Speech[1]

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, who also spoke in favour of the resolution, remarked that the previous speakers had told them the genesis of the mischievous Act[2] and how promises and pledges were disregarded by the Government. The poisonous Press Act was growing in strength and that was the time when every one felt that he should demand its total repeal. There was no hope in this world for those Indians who thought otherwise. If they were convinced that that Act must go, they must try hard to achieve that object and they should not rest until they had succeeded. The speaker hoped with Carlyle[3] that there could be no compromise with the devil. They considered the Press Act to be a foster child of that evil one. They were on their trial; their sincerity was being tested. Was there any one of them who would not rise up to the mark? In conclusion Mr. Nehru said that they should ever keep in mind that great and noble lady[4] who was the indirect cause of that meeting. "Don't fail at this moment; follow her faithfully and let it not be said that you flinched when you ought to have supported her."

1. *The Leader*, 23 June 1916.
This is an account of the first public speech made by Jawaharlal. On 20 June 1916, prominent citizens of Allahabad gathered in Hardinge Theatre to protest against the Indian Press Act, 1910 and against the demand of security from Mrs. Annie Besant. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presided over the meeting. Jawaharlal mentions this speech in his *Autobiography* but is uncertain about the date. See J. Nehru, *Autobiography* (Indian Edition, 1962), p. 33.
2. The Press Act of 1910 authorized the Government to demand securities from new printing presses and newspapers upto Rs. 2000 and from established ones upto Rs. 5,000.
3. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881); English author.
4. Annie Besant (1847-1933); came to India in 1893 after a varied record of activity in Britain, to serve the Theosophical Society, of which she later became the President. During the First World War she founded the Home Rule League and was interned for a while by the Government of India. In 1917 she was elected President of the Indian National Congress. She did much to awaken Indians to a knowledge of their past and to the need to achieve freedom.

3. A Notice Regarding the Indian Defence Force[1]

Allahabad
June 13th 1917

Dear Sir,
On the 4th of June a small informal meeting was held at Mahmudabad House, Lucknow, to consider what steps should be taken with regard to the Indian Defence Force.[2] Those present at this meeting were of opinion that it was desirable to make every effort to make this scheme a success and to urge our young men to join the Force. They were also of opinion that endeavours should be made to bring about certain alterations in the rules and regulations relating to the Force. It was suggested that committees should be formed in the principal towns of these provinces for the purpose of carrying on this work. It is therefore proposed to form a strong and representative committee at Allahabad and we shall be pleased if you will join the committee and collaborate with us in this work.

We hope you will be good enough to let us know at your early convenience whether you are willing to act on this committee. Your reply should be addressed to J. M. Banerji[3], Esqr., 12, Church Road, Allahabad.

The first meeting of the committee will be held at 7 p.m. on Saturday the 23rd June, at Anand Bhawan (No. 1, Church Road).

Yours faithfully,
MOTILAL NEHRU,
TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU,[4]
RANJIT SINGH,[5]
ISWAR SARAN,[6]
J. M. BANERJI,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

1. *The Leader*, 22 June 1917.
2. With the outbreak of the First World War, the Government of India was willing to consider favourably the recruitment of Indians in a Volunteer Corps, and the Indian Defence Force Act of 1917 provided for this. Congress had already been demanding this.
3. A leading lawyer of Allahabad.
4. (1875-1949); a leading lawyer of Allahabad and the best known of the Indian Liberal leaders. He was Law Member of the Government of India, 1920-23.
5. Major D. R. Ranjit Singh; Secretary of the Home Rule League, Allahabad, and of the Agra Province Zamindars' Association.
6. Munshi Iswar Saran (1874-1947); advocate of Allahabad High Court; President, Allahabad Swadeshi League.

4. Second Notice Regarding the Indian Defence Force[1]

Allahabad
June 20th 1917

Dear Sir,

On the 13th of June we addressed a letter to you requesting you to join a committee which was to be formed for the purpose of encouraging recruitment to the Indian Defence Force. The first meeting of this committee was fixed for Saturday the 23rd June. Events have since happened which make it clear that the Government is bent on pursuing a policy of repression. Under these circumstances we find ourselves unable to work on behalf of this movement. The meeting fixed for the 23rd June is therefore cancelled.[2]

Yours faithfully,
MOTILAL NEHRU,
TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU,
RANJIT SINGH,
ISWAR SARAN,
J. M. BANERJI,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

1. *The Leader*, 22 June 1917.
2. Because of resentment at the internment of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues by the Madras Government, the idea of helping in the Indian defence efforts was given up.

5. The Internment of Mrs. Annie Besant[1]

Sir,

Qui Deus vult perderc prius dementat[2]—so said the wise men of old and we are seeing the proverb justify itself in our ancient land. You, Sir, have expressed yourself strongly, and rightly so, against the recent orders[3] of the Government of Madras. But with my sorrow at the treatment accorded to Mrs. Besant is mingled joy and gladness that this day has come. For madness has fallen on the bureaucracy and that is the surest presage of their coming fall. Home Rule has come and we have but to take it if we stand up like men and falter not.

The usual meetings of protest against Mrs. Besant's internment are being announced and our city of Allahabad is going to express its condemnation tomorrow. We shall no doubt have a demonstration worthy

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Leader*, 21 June 1917.
2. Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad.
3. In 1917 the Madras Government interned Mrs. Besant, G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia in Ootacamund, prohibited them from speaking, writing and publishing, and censored their correspondence.

of the occasion, eloquent and moving speeches will be made and resolutions will be passed. But will that be all? Are we going to indulge in mere protests and representations as we have done for so many weary years? We have had enough of protest meetings; Allahabad is used to them, and no doubt our benign Government is also getting accustomed to them. Ours have been the politics of cowards and opium-eaters long enough and it is time we thought and acted like live men and women who place the honour and interests of their country above the frowns and smiles of every Tom, Dick and Harry who has I.C.S. attached to his name. Let us make it clear to the powers that be that we will not tolerate this highhandedness, and as long as and until they do not retrace their steps, there shall be no cooperation between the people and the Government. Every one of us who holds an honorary position under the Government should resign it and refuse to have anything to do with the bureaucracy. I am aware that many will not be prepared to do this, that they would sooner go to the devil than offend the collector. Of the likes of such we have no need, we want no faint hearts or wobblers in the Home Rule League. Let them, even though they be Knights or C.I.Es. or Rai Bahadurs or even Vice-Chancellors of Universities, let them part company with us and continue to kow-tow before and worship at the feet of our masters from across the seas. The wheat will be all the purer when the chaff is removed.

We have Indians as members of the Viceroy's Council and the Madras Executive Council. What have they done to prevent this infamous order, and what are they doing now? If Sir Sankaran Nair[4] and Mr. Rajagopalacharyar[5] are not merely hirelings of the bureaucracy but are true servants of the public and self-respecting Indians, they must sever all connection with the Government. What business have they at Simla or Ooty if they cannot even prevent an outrage of this character?

I was one of those who was firmly convinced that Indians should avail themselves of the opportunity of acquiring military training off-

4. Sir C. Sankaran Nair (1857-1934); Judge of the Madras High Court and later member of the Viceroy's Council. He resigned in protest against the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar in 1919. He presided over the Indian National Congress at Amraoti in 1897.

5. Sir P. Rajagopalacharyar (1862-1927); at this time member of the Madras Executive Council.

ered by the Defence of India Force Act, in spite of the many invidious distinctions. About a fortnight ago I filled in my application form and sent it to the Magistrate. Mrs. Besant's internment has however convinced me that we ought not to join the Force and I have therefore asked for the return of the application.

Anand Bhawan
June 21st, 1917

I am etc.,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The Home Rule League[1]

Sir,

Will you be good enough to allow me to make a request, through the columns of *The Leader*, to the secretaries of the various branches of the Home Rule League in these provinces?

A large number of Home Rulers in Allahabad and elsewhere have felt that the existing constitution of the League is not conducive to the speedy development of the League and to a proper co-ordination of our work. The formation of a Provincial League has therefore been suggested and steps are being taken with this object in view. A sub-committee appointed for this purpose has prepared a tentative constitution, and this is being sent for approval to all the branches of the League in the U.P. Unfortunately we are not in possession of full particulars of many of the district branches, and I shall be obliged if the secretaries of all those branches in these provinces which have not already done so, will let us know the names of their office-bearers and the number of members on their rolls. It is particularly requested that this information may be sent to us by the 15th of September. All communications should be addressed to:—

The Secretaries, Home Rule League, 3, City Road, Allahabad.

I may mention that we have opened a public reading room at our office, No. 3, City Road. A well-stocked book depot is also kept at the same address.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Jawaharlal Nehru,
Joint Secretary, Home Rule League,
Allahabad

Home Rule League Office,
3, City Road,
Allahabad, September 4, 1917

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Leader*, 6 September 1917.
Home Rule Leagues were started by Tilak and Mrs. Besant in April 1916 and September 1916 respectively.

7. A Notice to the Citizens of Allahabad[1]

A Public Meeting of the citizens of Allahabad will be held at 6 p.m. on September 27 under the auspices of the Home Rule League at 3, City Road, to demand the immediate release of Messrs. Mohamed Ali[2] and Shaukat Ali[3]. You are cordially invited to attend.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

1. *The Leader*, 26 September 1917.
2. Maulana Mohamed Ali (1878-1931); educated at Aligarh and Oxford; editor of the *Comrade*; interned 1915-1919; one of the Muslim leaders of the Khilafat agitation; in jail for sedition 1921-1923; President of the Congress 1923; thereafter dissociated himself from the Congress and attended the first Round Table Conference.
3. Maulana Shaukat Ali (1873-1938); elder brother of Maulana Mohamed Ali, was interned throughout the First World War, and on his release became one of the leading organisers of the Khilafat campaign. In later years he drifted away from the Congress.

8. To A.M. Khwaja[1]

Anand Bhawan,
Allahabad
12. 12. 17

My dear Khwaja[2],
The forces of reaction are at work and are trying their level best to keep out Home Rulers and other advanced politicians from the Congress. In the other provinces they have ignominiously failed but they still venture to repeat their tactics here. The All India Congress Committee will be elected—as far as the U.P. is concerned—at Calcutta during the Congress week.[3] The whole body of the delegates from our province will take part in the election. It is most important that

1. Khwaja Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Abdul Majid Khwaja (1885-1962); a contemporary of Jawaharlal at Cambridge and a lawyer of Aligarh. He joined the Congress in 1915, and in 1920 he gave up his legal practice. Six years later, however, he retired from active politics.
3. The 32nd session was divided between the Moderates and the new Home Rulers and Nationalists. Mrs. Besant was elected easily as President despite strong local opposition. Although the Extremists exercised considerable influence at this session, yet a resolution of loyalty to the Crown was passed.

our best men should get in. For instance we are very keen on Ansari[4] being there. We must therefore see to it that as large a number of Home Rulers as possible go as delegates to the Congress. You will of course come but I hope you will come with a very strong contingent from Aligarh. It will be most sad if next year's All India Committee is not a thoroughly go-ahead body. But that will not happen. Only we must work for it. Please do try your best.

Have you ever attended the Congress as a delegate? If so you ought to join the Provincial Congress Committee. We want some fresh blood in it badly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Dr. M. A. Ansari (1880-1936); a leading doctor and Congressman of Delhi. He took a leading part in the Home Rule and Khilafat campaigns, and led a medical mission to Turkey. He presided over the Congress session at Madras in 1927. He was a close friend of the Nehru family.

9. The Raja of Pratapner's Disclaimer[1]

1.4.18

Sir,

I have read with much pain and sorrow the letter of the Raja of Pratapner[2] in your issue of today's date. Soon after the H. R. meeting at Etawah, referred to by the Raja Saheb, I heard a rumour that sinister influences were at work to make him recant, but rumour is often a lying jade and I paid little heed to it, specially as I did not expect a scion of an ancient house, famous in Indian history, to be false to his trust and his country. I had the honour of attending the meeting and the pleasure of listening to the eloquent and moving speech of Pandit Neki Ram[3]. The Raja of Pratapner came to that meeting—was this too forced on him?—and he was elected the chairman in the usual way. I do not know when and to whom he clearly expressed his wishes against his election or against a "movement which tolerates" such people as P. Neki Ram and my humble self. I do know that immediately after his election he took the chair and not a word of protest escaped his lips then or later. I sat next to him and we occasionally conversed with each other but at no stage of the meeting

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Hukm Tej Pratap Singh from Etawah (1893-1925); member of U.P. Legislative Council from 1920 until his death.
3. A leading Home Ruler of Punjab; arrested in July 1918.

did I gather that the honour had been thrust upon an unwilling person. He asked me to address the meeting after Pandit Neki Ram but I excused myself as the hour was very late—it was nearly 11 p.m. then. The Raja was then requested to speak and the sole reason he gave for not doing so was his not having prepared his speech. Not a word of disapproval, not a hint of displeasure escaped him. At the close of the meeting another H. R. meeting for a couple of days later was announced and I gathered the impression that the Raja intended coming to that meeting also. But of course my impression may have been wrong. And now the Raja tells us that he "was jockeyed into this position" and that he "listened with disgust to the uncalled for utterances of P. Neki Ram"! A Raja's ways of expressing "disgust" are strange indeed! I am not concerned much with his opinions, or want of them, but I do protest against his description of his election to the chairmanship and the misleading idea that is likely to give people who were not present. Allow me to assure him that although we gladly welcome recruits to our Home Rule Army we want no faint hearts and wobblers in it. Let those who prefer the smiles of collectors and magistrates and the like to the honour and interests of their country bask in the sunshine of official favour. We have no need for them. The cause will not suffer for the Raja Saheb's defection. But I grieve that a Chohan Rajput, a descendant of the great Prithvi Raj[4] should exhibit such weakness and irresolution. Did his brave ancestors show the white feather when they were attacked?

I have &c
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Prithviraj Chauhan was the king of Sambhal, Ajmer and Delhi in the 12th century. He first defeated Mohammed Ghori but was vanquished and killed the next year. His deeds are recorded by Chand Bardai in *Prithvi Raj Raso*.

10. To Tej Narain[1]

Anand Bhawan,
Alld.
13/8/18

My dear Tej Narain[2],
I returned from Lucknow today with a heavy heart for I had come to realise, much as I struggled against it, that politics in India demand

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Tej Narain Mulla (1887-1950); son of Jagat Narain Mulla; later became a High Court judge.

sacrifices of a kind I had not dreamt of. I knew full well that the public life of a nation under alien domination is very different from that of a free country. Feelings are intenser, more exasperated; passions are quickly aroused and smoulder away for want of a natural outlet. But I had hoped—vainly as it now appears—that friendships would not be affected, faith in a comrade and a colleague would not totally disappear at the first whisper of a lying tongue. But that was not to be, and I am a sadder if perhaps a wiser man. "And to be wroth with one we love doth work like madness in the brain". I write these few lines only to beg of you and of *Chacha*[3] not to give credence to every idle rumour about me that may reach you. I can assure you—I know not what value will be attached to this assurance—that I have never felt anything but respect for *Chacha*. As you know, I have strong convictions and feel deeply on public questions. Few things have pained me so much as the attitude *Chacha* has taken up in politics, for to my poor way of thinking it has done immense harm to the cause we all have at heart. But never by thought or deed, did I cast the slightest reflection on *Chacha*. What matter? For "whispering tongues can poison truth" and little that I can do now can undo the mischief that has been done.

Yours affly,
Jawaharlal

3. Jagat Narain Mulla (1864-1938), whom Jawaharlal addressed as *Chacha*. The misunderstanding was due to Jawaharlal's strong views on Mulla's 'moderate' politics.

11. On Deputations To England[1]

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru proposed :

"This conference places on record its emphatic protest against the announcement made by the Home Member that no deputations will be allowed to proceed to England until the reports of the Committee

1. *The Leader*, 16 October 1918.
Resolution at the U.P. Political Conference held in Lucknow under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru.

AT THE ALLAHABAD BAR, 1912.
Jawaharlal is standing first from the left in the third row.

FAMILY GROUP, 1918.

Standing : (Left to right):

JAWAHARLAL, MOTILAL, KRISHANLAL

Sitting : (Left to right) :

SARUP KUMARI NEHRU (SHRIMATI VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT), KAMALA NEHRU, SWARUP RANI NEHRU WITH INDIRA NEHRU, SHEORAJVATI NEHRU

On the floor : (Left to right) :

KRISHNA KUMARI NEHRU, VIDYA NEHRU (DAUGHTER OF KRISHANLAL NEHRU)

are published. Such a decision, while it deprives the Indians of the freedom to exercise their rights of citizenship in placing their own views with regard to the Reform Scheme[2] before the British public, is contrary to the clear promise given by his Excellency the Viceroy last year that every facility shall be given to Indians to proceed to England in connection with Constitutional Reforms. This Conference earnestly urges upon the Government of India the necessity and justice of granting forthwith the necessary passports to the delegates of the Indian National Congress and other political bodies who may be willing to proceed to England."

In moving the resolution, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to the two deputations which had to return from Ceylon and Gibraltar respectively. He pointed out the injustice done to those deputations. Dr. Nair[3] was allowed to proceed to England on the ground of illness but as soon as he was in England the embargo placed on him was removed and he had begun to spread venom against home rule.

Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer[4] and Mr. Hassan Imam[5] had interviewed the Viceroy in that connection, but in vain. A week ago, the Home Member[6] said that no occasion had as yet risen for any deputations to go to England and that they would be allowed to go after the publication of the reports of the two committees. By that time, the speaker said, the bill and reports relating to the constitutional reforms must have been completed. It was necessary for the deputations to go to England at the present moment and to place their views before the British public.

2. The declaration of 20 August 1917, which laid down the policy of the British Government as being the gradual development of self-governing institutions in India with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government.
3. Dr. T. Madhavan Nair (1868-1919); one of the leaders of the non-Brahmin movement in Madras.
4. C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar (1879-1966); Secretary, Indian National Congress, 1917-18; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1942; Dewan of Travancore, 1936-47; Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University, 1954-56, and of Annamalai University, 1953-55 and again 1962-66.
5. (1871-1933); eminent lawyer; appointed Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1912; presided over the special session of the Congress in Bombay, 1918.
6. Sir William Vincent.

12. The Kotla Case[1]

Aligarh
For 24/3/19

I appear for Raja Kushalpal Singh—Deft 1—to oppose the application for amendment of plaint which has been made by the Pffs[2]

Preliminary Remarks

Labouring under a disability in having to answer argument wh. I did not have advantage to hear—should have liked to hear it personally and know on what grounds such an amazing appln cd be supported. Colleagues supplied me with notes—poor sub. divorced from delivery & wealth of gesture. Perusal only deepened regret at having missed forensic eloquence—D as is his wont argued with ardour & zeal of a crusader worthy of better cause. Extraordinary propositions of law advanced & still more extraordinary statements of fact made. Shall deal with them later but cannot help expressing regret that D shd have permitted himself to make these statements. Endeavour to answer him—feel confident that I shall satisfy ct.—absolutely no force in appln not bonafide, made it harass & delay justice etc confuse issues etc.

Indulgence of ct. if inadvertently I miss out any point D. has laid stress on & request that ct will point out if I fail to make myself clear. Also request D to follow me & to correct me—some of his remarks require explanation & justification.

1. Jawaharlal practised as a lawyer for about eight years, from his return to India in 1912 till 1920, when he plunged into the noncooperation movement. We reprint here from Jawaharlal's case-book, as illustrative of his approach, the notes, written in his own hand, of two cases in which he appeared.
The above selection covers pages 73 to 97 of a notebook entitled "Notes from Cases" (now in N.M.M.L.) which he began in 1916. For the second case, see No. 20.
Shri M. C. Chagla has commented on these two cases: "The cases by themselves are not important, but they disclose the extraordinary industry and love of research of the young lawyer."
2. The plaintiff in the case had moved the court for amendment of the plaint. Jawaharlal as counsel for the defendant opposed it.

Frequent reference to Dumraon—C. R. Das & Chakerburty. I cannot lay such claims—greatness not thrust upon me by working with legal lights like D & C. Limited Exp. in this Prov.

Circumstances under which appln made

Trace history of suit so far.

21.5.05 Deed of gift by Lalli Jus K elegantly called by D "rubbish !" in favour of Kushalpal.

[16.9.10 Lalli Jus K died]

14.4.17 Alleged sale deed by Tilok Pal in favour of Pffs.

19.5.17 Plaint presented just within 12 years of gift.

D assures us that plaint on most approved lines—Dumraon—C R D etc

Briefly analyse plaint with small pedigree

Pff's allegations: Pffs next reversioners of Chaturbhuj last male holder—only way they become so is by saying

1. adopt of Chaturbhuj to Sundar Singh in Raja Ram's branch.
2. Adopt of Harnarain to Bhagwan Singh —do—
3. Sital Shah had only 2 sons Harkishan & Raja Ram and *not* Hans Ram & Sada Ram.
4. Harkishan Das had only 2 sons Mandhata & Pohap S. and *not* Pahar Singh & Mokkam Singh.
5. Lachmi Narain Pff's ancestor was son of Mandhata.

(1) Thus if both adopts proved pffs & Chaturbhuj both members of Raja Ram's branch—Pff sole surviving members of that branch & hence next reversioners of Chaturbhuj. Plaint para 24

(2) If no adopts pff must prove Pahar not son of Harkishan & Lachmi N. son of Mandhata. No one else in Harkishan's branch left

(3) If however only Chaturbhuj's adoption proved then in addition to (2) they have to prove that Sital had only 2 sons Harkishan & Raja Ram—& Hans Ram & Sada Ram did not exist. For if Hans Ram & Sada Ram brothers of Harkishan then their issue wd exclude Pffs. [Tilok Pal slightly nearer in degree—His assignment He has previously admitted deed of gift]

Eng law Privy to these parties Very stiff task before the Pff 2 Jts of High Ct to get over in both Pff's father a party—Megh S—the grandfather of the present youthful transferers—the Pff in one.

Refer to Jt in Megh Singh's suit last page for findings. These are the findings wh. the Pff has to get over! acknowledge courage & audacity of Pff. How has he tried to do so? By indiscriminate abuse & charges of perjury, forgery and other sweet things of this kind. If 1/100th part of the charges are true then we or our predecessors wd have done credit to the great German Secret Service system. Waiting anxiously to know how charges justified —Mr. D. in opening again in his eloquent language abused Umrao Singh—Perhaps he believes in the good old way of throwing a lot of mud as some sure to stick. Or is it the Dumraon way?

Then come a succession of delays in spite of years of preparation before suit. D in his generosity will not credit for them, full responsibility on us. We appreciate his courtesy but will rather have none of it. Let us examine the true facts.

1. ?n of Lokendra Singh's guardianship.
   (a) Pff first suggested Deft 2 Th. Jogendra Pal Singh Dy Collector at Gorakhpur. He said he was too busy in service—too far etc. suggested Dhian Pal S. but Pff wd have none of him for obvious reasons!
   (b) Then suggested Th. Mahendra Pal Dy Coll at Basti—same result.

3. Then Kushalpal S. who naturally said defence dift. etc.

By that time minor became major.

Jan 1918 Suit numbered etc.

18.3.18 Deft 1 applies to High Ct for transfer from Aligarh for reasons of convenience etc.

Notice cd nt be served on Pff. 3 attempts made all unsuccessful—apparently avoiding service.

May '18 Eventually counsel filed appearance in May.

D. accuses us of wasting time, not keeping our word and trying to get case before a particular judge of the High Ct! These are serious allegations and I take it they are meant to apply to my learned senior M. N. who was in charge of the appln. challenge to substantiate & justify or withdraw them & express his regret.

18.6.18 Appln. rejected——month after appearance filed on behalf of Pffs. May be M. N. had asked for a short postponement. He has other work to attend to besides the

Kotla case. His health not good for some days—absence at Lucknow etc. Do not wish to employ strong language but insinuations are disgraceful agst a leader of the bar etc. Weak case—abuse opp party's counsel in his absence! Courtesy & camaraderie of the bar!! Wish he had done so in his presence—ample opportunity—he was here for a week. Of a piece with the rest of the Pff's case & the conduct thereof.

6.8.18 *Written statement filed*—a bombshell in the Pff's camp. Mr. D. much disconcerted. Deft had the temerity to adopt a line of defence wh. did not suit D! & wh. was not in accordance with the hallowed traditions of the Dumraon case & was not perhaps what Dar's friends & sponsors C R D and C wd have done. What temerity!!

D says "If defence had been on lines indicating deed of gift case wd have been over before now! No occasion for proposed amendment!!" Follow this line

We shd have gone to D for advice in the matter & abided by his directions—We might have confessed it! Most thoughtless of us to put him out & upset all his nicely laid schemes to overreach Defts. But the best laid schemes of mice & men gang aft agley and D is after all a mere mortal in spite of his close assn with the luminaries of the Cal. bar.

All this commotion due to fact that Pffs advisers realised that they hadn't a shadow or vestige of case.

D says: "extremely unfair to us to have a *pedigree* of 1200 names hurled at us!" I agree that is unfortunate & distressing, but unhappily the Malthusian doctrine has not spread in India. I trust people will be more careful in future for the benefit of D's successors in the profession!

D goes on to say: "Litigation has got laws of honour"! Does D realise the meaning of what he says? I trust not or he wd not make such reckless statements. Does he mean to imply that the Deft's advisers have transgressed any of the canons written or unwritten of honour! Fair & unfair!!!

D knows well that this identical pedigree was put in in the previous suits barring the addition of names of newly born people? Has he not seen this pedigree? Challenge him etc.

Did he expect us to make up new pedigree?

Refer: Writ Stat para 24(c)

2nd shock

Our *conditional admission* of Chaturbhuj's adopt-apparently this form of pleading not known to D! Very common & well recognised form both in England & India. Pff's appln!!

{ Perhaps no such conditional admission in Dumraon Hence D's ignorance

R.S.C. appendix B No 12 p 1540 (Vol. II white bk)
C.P.C. app C. No. 11 p 990 (Agarwala)
Identical words.

Means just what it says. It is not our case that Chaturbhuj was adopted but in present case we did not wish to lengthen trial—It did not affect our case as agst Pff and so we admitted it conditionally. No one else in the world can take advantage of that admission.

We stick to it as it is and will not be bullied or cajoled by D into changing it or altering it in any sense. D had better realise that Deft case is going to be conducted as his counsel advise him and not acc to D's whims & caprices.

Effect of our admission Megh Raja's descendants acquire additional importance

(3) another surprise our "caricature!" pleading Justitia Pff advisors naivete wd be charming if it was not distressing

search begins

Refer Marked passages in Das's notes p 3—6

Further delays to recover from shock and to find some more & stronger strings to bow

search begins

Roman Cath Mission made a party. Poor Revd. gentlemen dragged from their cloisters & made a pawn in Pff's game. Wholly unnecessary. Pff themselves are not keen on them. Don't want notice of this appln served on them. A mere device to gain time.

15.8.18

Issues struck Non-joinders—No such plea in defence. Appln made by D (after MN's consent) to get 18th Nov. fixed for trial. After some discussion S.J. fixed 11th Nov. 1918.

10.9.18 Dar applies to S.J. for postponement. Refused.

21.9 D applies to H. Ct during vacation. We oppose appln urge speedy trial but Pff continue to delay apparently still trying to find some one to help them in their straits. High Ct postponed. No date fixed.

Pff tried to get further delays—referred to Sapru's membership of Reforms Committee! Where is Sapru now—Dodge to gain time.

4.12.18 S.J. fixed 17.2.19 for trial—witnesses summoned for that date. D stated in ct that he would not open case and lead evidence straight off.

17.2.19 Deft gets M.N. to attend ct thinking evidence will begin. But no such luck. D starts off—opens flood-gates of oratory—10 days of it—M.N. returns after a few days. *On this day* also Karanpal's sale deed executed. D must have known but not a word of it, not a whisper till 3rd March.

1.3.19 Phul Singh sale deed executed.

3.3.19 Present appln filed after M N goes. 2 sale deeds Property worth 30 lacs sold for 100/- p.m. to both vendors!! Both deeds ex in the Awagarh estate. Karanpal spirited away to Awagarh! Poor mother distrait—wiring to Collector—informing police. Karanpal acc to us a minor—affidavit filed.

Karanpal & Co's predecessor—grandfather—Megh Singh. His antecedents & conduct—consistent behaviour throughout life. See *affidavit*. Three sons of Megh S left out in the cold.

Read appln for amendment and our answer to it—Comment. How does proposed amendment affect ?ns in controversy between the parties—What are these ?ns—See issues.

Amend. does not touch present issues or help in determi-
consider
nation of any ?n involved in suit.

Instead of elucidating or simplifying positions—fresh difficulties & complications. Confusion worse confounded.

New issues—

Karanpal & Co's position—antagonistic both parties—Proposed amendment opens up an interminable vista of amendments—a dreary prospect.

Deft will have to meet new case differently, new issues, fresh doc & oral evid.

Many special ?ns peculiar to Meghraj's descendants. Contest betwn defendants—always undesirable.
Really rival suits.
Inconsistency in Pff's case—each part destructive of the other. Claims to be Megh S's representative & yet denies that Megh Singh reversioner at all.
Effect of Megh Singh's previous conduct.
Estoppel, Limitation.

Fresh pedigree on wh pedigree does Karnapal rely?

Until a satisfactory explanation of this is forthcoming Karanpal & Co have no locus standi.
Chaturbhuj's adopt admission provisional. Admission agst one party, denial as agst another! Absurd—Difficulties of oral evidence.
Megh S's 3 sons alive—left in the cold by Pff or perhaps they are also being bamboozled by Pff's agents. Sale deeds ex by 3 grandsons—2 of them minors—Karanpal & Ospal—this ?n also to be determined. Are the sons & grandsons joint?

Law

Indian Law same as English Law.
D has strange notions of English trials etc. Because there are juries in England ∴ law as to amendment is different! Similarly because there are English Judges in England etc Interested to know where these remarkable ideas have come from.
R. S. Ct O 16 R 11=C.P.C. O 1 R 10 addition of fresh parties— "all ?n involved in the suit"
R.S.C. O 28 R 1=C.P.C. O 6 R 17
amendment of pleadings.
"real ?ns in controversy between the parties"
Only such ?ns as have arisen at date of suit can be ?ns involved in the suit—similarly ?ns in controversy. This is apart from the ?ns of merits.
?n Competence of Court to grant amendment when cause of action has arisen after institution of suit.
Dicta of eminent JJ
Tottenham Local Board V Lea Conservancy
2 T.L.R. 410
If this is good law as we must presume it to be then Pff out of court if we show that cause of action has arisen after institution of suit. On Pffs own showing this so Sale deed 1-3/4 years after.

For 25/3/19 Yesterday dealt with facts & circumstances leading up to present appln = Traced history of suit so far—showed how the drama proceeded & developed; how the Pffs in an attempt to escape or at any rate delay the nemesis wh is awaiting them have made their case undergo a kaleidoscopic change in a barren hope born of despair.

Without discussing the merits of case have shown at any rate that all presumptions of law & fact are against Pffs—Jts of the highest Ct in the land are agst them. They come to Ct on some allegations and it will take a brave man to say that they will succeed where their ancestors failed. Inspite of all this the Pffs have ventured into the field. But it will be more correct to say that they are the nominal Pffs only, mere pawns in the great game, which is really being played by a powerful & wealthy lady to satisfy some grudge or for other reasons of her own.

Have shown that we have consistently acted in a straightforward manner—have not caused any avoidable delay or in any other way impeded the proper trial of the suit. On the contrary we have done utmost to speed the trial. But we have again & again been check-mated by the Pfts who in their endeavours to strengthen their bogus claims have taken time. D repeatedly spoken ill of Deft & his father. Welcome to it. Facts speak for themselves. Ill becomes any one on Pffs side to ride the high horse—glass houses—It is not so long ago that Pffs employed an agent to inspect records—a man who had been dismissed from the collectorate for forgery—needless to say he was given short shrift by authorities & pff had to part company with him.

Such has been Pffs conduct—last and most audacious *abuse of process of court* —of a piece with the rest of their methods—Comes the episode of the Karanpal & Co's sale deeds—Young boys & minors are spirited away and inveigled into the domains of the lady of Awagarh. Poor indigent people lured no doubt by fair promises—sell a vast property for the beggarly sum of 100/- p.m. Even the biblical case of a mess of pottage not in it! And all for what? To enable the Pffs to have some plausible excuse for proceeding *L. J. Simile of Omnibus* with a case wh was in imminent danger of collapse. A drowning man they say clutches at a straw, so the Pffs career about in search of fresh causes of action and fish

out these poor boys and carry them away in triumph to Awagarh.

And who are these boys? The grandsons of a person who all through his life consistently proclaimed & adhered to certain statements. Who bound himself hand & foot in the eyes of the law; and they claim through him!

The whole transaction is clearly champertous. The law of England calls such transactions "obnoxious to the law & void in equity & law."

A.P. p. 2046

Here in India the law permits but it looks upon them with a jealous eye and will not grant them any grace or stretch a point in their favour—No ct. of equity will permit a party to take advantage of them unless no discretion is left to it in the matter. Where there is discretion it will always be exercised agst a champertous arrangement.

XX Does Pff acknowledge HR Pff says no Hans Ram's branch =yes! Double headed 2 faced hydra!

Have pointed out the disastrous consequences if the amendment is granted.

It will not touch or help the elucidation of a single issue as framed—"real ?ns in controversy between parties" ?ns of limitation, estoppel, etc wd arise. Lalli Juo openly proclaimed adv possession by deed of gift 21/5/05—Megh Singh agreed ∴ as against him & his successors it began to run then—expired 20/5/17—Revival of time barred claim.

Can Karanpal sue without first setting aside deed? Another ?n of limitation.

X Election

XXX Walsh. J — Obiter Dictum
14 ALJ 464

Estoppel Bajrangi's Case 30Al followed 7 ALJ 121 at 123

It will raise difficulties innumerable, fresh issues, fresh w.ss., fresh evid. & hopeless confusion.

No doubt it may save Pff's purpose by delaying matters and harassing Defts.—Injustice to Defts—not possible to recoup their Costs.

And what is the prospect before us if amendment allowed? An interminable vista of amendments—dreary outlook! Pffs whenever they see their case tottering will forthwith get hold of another reversioner and get a sale deed! Every argument wh D has addressed now will equally apply to every subsequent amendment!

No end to case

All facts show utter lack of *bonafides*

Abuse of process of court

They show that case is such that under no conceivable circumstances must amendment be allowed—unless the law is imperative and leaves no discretion. If law leaves slightest discretion then this must be rejected. What is the law?[3]

<u>*Law*</u>

Of reported cases there is no end. Ever since I.C. no getting away from them—Like the poor always with us. Some JJ refuse to look at them—sympathise with them. Reported decisions as Haldane said only cited for principle they lay down. Shall refer to some cases to get at the principle and then briefly comment on D's cases. He read some and left you to read others. Leaves comments etc.

I Indian Law on subject identical with English Law—Borrowed—Same words. In every case of the kind English decisions referred to.

What is cause of action?

D's peculiar conception of the Law
Suit based on rt of inheritance
violation or infringement of rt
wrongful possession of Deft
Relief same

∴ Cause of action precisely same! Q. E. D.
annual practise p 318

3. Amendment of plaint—In a civil suit, pleadings of the parties constitute plaint and written statement. A party can seek an amendment of his own pleading, with the leave of the Court, at any stage of the proceedings, if such amendment is necessary for the purpose of determining the real question in controversy between the parties. An amendment which does not change the nature of the suit or in appropriate cases, even if it introduces a new ground of claim or an allegation of fact inconsistent with the original pleading, or where it seeks to substitute one ground of exemption from limitation for another, can be allowed by the Court, when the Court thinks it just and necessary, on such terms as the Court might think proper. The courts do not refuse leave to a party to amend his pleading on technical grounds. However, an amendment of pleading can be successfully objected to by the opposite party when amendment is not necessary for the purpose of determining the real questions in controversy between the parties, or where the plaintiff's suit would be wholly displaced by the proposed amendment or where the amendment would convert the suit into another of a different and inconsistent character or where the effect of amendment would be to take away from the defendant a legal right which has accrued to him by lapse of time or where the application for amendment is not bonafide.

C. P. C. O7 R1
12 A. L. J. 955 Richards C.J.
16 Cal 98 at 102 P.C. *IMPT*

III Our case at lowest.
Apart from ?n of competence of court shd Pff be allowed to take advantage of a cause of action which has arisen since suit?
25 I.C. 863 (Sind)!
12 M 136 at 138

Tests 21 M 288 at 290

IV Can pff who has no rt to sue subsequently join as co-pff a person who has a right to sue? No
(SJ) Walcott vs Lyons 29 Ch. Div 584
c.f. 18 IC, 212 *IMPT*

V Could proposed new defts apply suo motu & be made parties? No, there wd be misjoinder of causes of action Rival claim antagonistic to both parties.
26 All 218 Knox & Aikman JJ

Pff can have no higher rt than that of his transferor
XX 1896 W N. 72

VI (a) Premature suit—subsequent maturity. Does that help Pff?
(b) Distinguish between alternative claims; rival suits

VII *Edevain v Cohen* 43 Ch Div 187 at 190 Principle (appeal from 41 Ch Div 563 at 566)

Raleigh v Goschen 1898 I Ch 73
Facts & then p 81—case of Lords of Admiralty—our much stronger case

Ellis v Manchester Carriage Co 2 C.P.D. 13 at 16

II M.I.A 7 *at* 20 followed 8 C 871 *at* 875
36 I.C. 5 Burma

8 A.L.J. 636 at 638 Richards CJ Tudball J referred to
12 A.L.J. 635 Rafiq & Piggott J.J. (limitation—new cause of action)

4 I.C. 652 at 657—Bearman J General law discussed

15 Cal 684 at 692 P.C. Inconsistent issues.

Macnaughten
DAR'S CASES Has hurled a number.

Directly applicable

1. 43 I.C. 560 Madras at 562 marked
   1. Formal defect in title cured
   2. All members family all along supported Pffs title
   3. addit stat by Pff—*no objection raised*—amendment allowed—in appeal ct did nt interfere.
   4. Obiter resubsequent cause of action—but see *facts* —all authorities not cited 2 T.L.R.
2. 31 I.C. 7 Sind—most instructive case!
   Extraordinary view of law—Both statute law and reported decisions misunderstood!
   See C.P.C. 07 R 11 (old code See 53)
   Relies on 25 I.C. 863 also Sind case difft judges
   Hard cases bad law—Heaven born service
   Macnaughten's story—when the gods err!
3. 11 I.C. 827 Burma
   (1) English & Indian rules same. Poor Mulla!
   see p 827, 828—in favour
4. 11 I.C. 856 Burma
   Pure error—in favour.
5. 11 A.L.J. 423 Banerji J
   Pffs & Deft agreed to joint market etc. Deft set up rival market. Suit for rescission of contract or in alternative for injunction to restrain Deft from setting up rival market. After inst of suit deft removed market to another path.

P 427 Amendment. *Ancillary* cause of action. real ?n a dispute.

Principles Laid Down

6. 13 I.C. 128 Cal

W.s. subsequently, amended inconsistent defences.
Principles laid down: 1. real ?n in controversy
2. bona fides
3. Injury to opp party

refers to 14 A.C. 318 at 320

7. 47 I.C. 129 Cal = 45 Cal 305 at 316, 317-8
   Suit on Mtge. Pff omitted by attorney's mistake a previous charge—See p 130 bottom, 131, 132 *IMPT*
8. 45 I.C. 649 Mad—General Principles
9. 33 B 644 = 4 I.C. 726 Read at 655 & specially Beaman J's tests. *IMPT.*

Principles illustrated

10. 13 I.C. 268 Mad.
marked passages—ancillary relief

11. 26 I.C. 443 Mad. Suit to declare Mtge deed invalid. Finding partly valid, ct allowed Pff to amend relief for redemption of valid part.

12. 27 I.C. 465 Cal at 469—No bearing suit for partition—Pff claimed to be in possession. High ct held he was n't & so suit not maintainable. Pft contended he was in constructive possession. High Ct held No. Pff then applied for amendment of plaint to add possession. Allowed on payment of full cost to date. Fresh w.s. etc.

13. 3 I.C. 765 Bom
Property claimed on basis of will
2 constructions etc.
p. 766 marked.

14. 25 I.C. 136 Burma—Principal v agent original plaint asked for act amended—included damages for negligence

15. 22 Cal 692 at 711, 712

What does all this authority amount to? Same prin ciples laid down. Occasional variation in application.

These principles are:

I. Competence of ct—subsequent cause of action

II. 1. Necessary for determining Real ?n in controversy or points involved in suit.
(a) Subsequent cause of action
(b) Other points
(c) Addition of fresh person with fresh rt
(d) Convenience

Bowen L.J. "Can you put parties in the same position for purposes of justice that they were in when slip was made."

III. No injustice—disadvantage compensated for by crts.

IV. Suit must not be materially changed

V. Bona fides.

If *all* these answered in affirmative then amendment may be allowed. If any in negative then No. Unhesitatingly answer all in negative.

Answer Dar 4 points.

Repeat—Challenge—any case in wh Pff having failed to substantiate claim buys up rts of 3rd party and wants to take advantage of them in this manner!

D says this amendment means no harm to either party! Is it for fun that we have been opposing it?

Result = Pff has not a leg to stand on in fact merits or law; on every ground—justice or expediency he fails & appln must be rejected.

Thank court etc.

13. To Father[1]

Anand Bhawan,
Allahabad
19.8.19

My dear Father,

Murlidhar[2] goes today by the mail with this letter. I hope Purushottam[3] will also go by the same train. I have not heard from him again definitely, hence my doubts. Krishna Kant[4] has managed to get fever. He will start as soon as he is well which I hope will be in a day or two. Of Malaviyaji[5] there is no definite news.

I have already sent you all your dak with Ramji[6]. There is no more to be sent.

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. A clerk in Motilal Nehru's office.
3. Purushottam Das Tandon (1882-1962); a leading figure in the U.P. Congress; Speaker, U.P. Legislative Assembly 1937-1939 and 1946-1950; President of the Congress 1950, but resigned soon after owing to differences with Jawaharlal.
4. Krishna Kant Malaviya (1881-1941); editor of Hindi weekly *Abhyudaya* and monthly *Maryada.*
5. Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946); President of the Indian National Congress 1909, 1918; Member, Imperial Legislative Council 1910-1919 and of Indian Legislative Assembly 1924-30; President Hindu Mahasabha 1916, 1917, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1935; Founder of Banaras Hindu University and Vice-Chancellor, 1919-39. He was well-known for his devout orthodoxy.
6. Ram Nath Dar (b. 1894); son of Har Prasad Dar and brother of Krishna Prasad Dar. He served as a reporter in *The Leader* of Allahabad, and as Sub-Editor of *Allahabad Law Journal.* He worked with Jawaharlal in collecting information about the massacre at Amritsar.

We have definitely decided to start for Solon on the 22nd arriving there the next day. I suppose I shall have to stay there two or three [days] at least, to see Nanavati[7] and to make other arrangements. After that I shall go direct to Lahore, if you wish it, or go to Lucknow in case you are there at the time. Please let me know what I am to do. I suppose Solon does not want much of an address. However, to prevent delay, a letter or telegram may be sent c/o Mr. Roshan Lal, whose house is, I understand, next door to the one he has taken for us. I have had a letter from him and he tells me that the house is furnished and very commodious. It has been occupied by healthy people for some years past.

The Independent[8] is giving me some trouble. Neogee[9], of *Bengalee*[10] etc., has not turned up or answered. I sent him a wire on the 15th but that too has remained unanswered. I am wiring again. If he does not come before I leave for Solon, then I shall have to leave him to interview some one else here, presumably Mohan Bhai[11]. If he does not come at all, our position will be worse still. As you know, Hriday Nath Sapru [12] wants to leave soon, at the latest the 30th of this month.

Ranga Iyer[13] has been speaking to me about his name sake, Gopi, in connection with the managerial dept. You have already decided against him and I wholly agree with you. He does not appear to be a very reliable person, nor does he know Urdu. The points in his favour are that he is a very hard worker, has a fair amount of experience of managerial work and is likely to do his best to please. I mention this not because I am keen on having him but because I see no other way out.

7. A doctor at Solon.
8. A daily newspaper started by Motilal Nehru at Allahabad in 1919. It closed down in 1923.
9. Upendranath Neogee worked as assistant editor of *Bengalee* and later on of *Forward* of Calcutta.
10. A weekly journal in English published from Calcutta, and converted into a daily newspaper in 1878. It was started by Surendra Nath Banerjea.
11. Mohanlal Nehru (1877-1959); son of Nandlal Nehru and first cousin of Jawaharlal.
12. Hriday Nath Sapru, son of Pandit Parameshwar Nath Sapru, a lawyer of Fyzabad. At this time he was assistant manager of *The Independent.*
13. C. S. Ranga Iyer (1895-1963); a journalist engaged by Motilal Nehru as Editor of *The Independent* on the resignation of the first editor, Syed Hussain. He later broke with Motilal Nehru, and in 1929 was expelled from the Congress.

With regard to Kali Nath Ray[14], I am told that he is not only a staunch moderate but somewhat partisan; that he ridiculed *The Independent* when it came out and refused to have anything to do with it, and also that he steered a middle course in the *Tribune*[15] not so much because of his own inclination but because of the pressure brought to bear on him by the trustees of the paper. I do not know how far this is true. I hope you find out from him what his feelings are before you definitely engage him.

Ranga Iyer will probably go on leave shortly. Venkat Ram[16] has been here for some time past but I do not know his exact position.

The double feeder machine is working in a way. So far the machine man has not attempted to take too much work out of it. In the absence of a competent machine man or mechanic, there is always a danger of a collapse. If Neogee comes, this difficulty ought not to trouble us.

The photographer sent from Bombay has most mysteriously disappeared. I made arrangements for him to be met at the Lucknow station but no one arrived. Even the hotels in Lucknow have been searched in vain. I have wired to Umar Sobhani.[17] Mistry,[18] for various reasons of his own, will not go. I would request your trying to get hold of a local man, even an amateur would do. The Bombay man of course will be sent as soon as he is traced.

I do not know what your plans are. I hope you will send me a wire.

With love,

your loving son
Jawahar

Purushottam's departure today appears to be doubtful. I understand Malaviyaji is coming to Allahabad today.

14. Kali Nath Ray was on the editorial staff of the *Bengalee*, and later became editor of the *Tribune*.
15. An Indian-owned newspaper, published in English, from Lahore.
16. V. S. Venkat Rama Iyer; on the editorial staff of *The Independent* for some time; in 1922, arrested with Jawaharlal and others for picketing or threatening to picket and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50.
17. (1888-1926); a leading businessman of Bombay, and a close friend of Jawaharlal. He took a prominent part in the Home Rule League, and later was one of the first to join Gandhi's noncooperation campaign.
18. A photographer in Allahabad.

14. Notes on the Occurrences in the Punjab[1]

August 31st Sunday

Arrived at Amritsar from Solon at 8.30 a.m. Met by Girdharilal[2] at station.

Spent morning with father and hide merchant? & Radhakrishna of Chartered Bank.

Instructions from father about future work.

Father left for Lucknow by mail at 3.30 p.m. Saw him off at station.

Drove through city with Girdharilal. Saw ruins of National Bank, Town Hall & Post Office.

Visited Jallian Wala Bagh[3]—walked round and saw numerous bullet marks—Counted 67 on one part of one wall—There must have been at least 200 on the walls I saw (I need not examine all walls). Changes being made in the garden—Walls raised—Wooden planks put up—A lot of earth being thrown up etc—Many bullet marks very high up—One bullet mark on a balcony just outside the bagh facing lane over canal—Most peculiar—Could only have been fired at from the lane or else the bullet bounced off.

Visited the lane[4] where people were made to crawl[5] on their bellies. Told that one respectable woman raped in a neighbouring house. General misbehaviour of tommies.

Passed footbridge, carriage bridge over railway line, telegraph office etc where firing took place.

1. Jawaharlal went to Amritsar in August 1919 to collect first-hand information regarding the Jallianwala Bagh incidents.
These notes are reproduced from one of his diaries in N.M.M.L.
2. (1883-1946); a businessman from Amritsar. He was also an active Congressman in the Punjab.
3. The garden enclosed by high walls at Amritsar where General Dyer opened fire without warning on an unarmed crowd that had inadequate means of dispersal, and continued to fire till his ammunition was exhausted.
4. The Durga Koti Lane.
5. Frances Sherwood was a missionary doctor and superintendent of the mission schools in Amritsar. She had lived in that town for many years and was highly respected. But on 10 April 1919 she was attacked by a mob which had failed to recognise her and suffered severe injuries. To avenge this fact, General Dyer, who was administering martial law in the Punjab, ordered that Indians could only crawl on their stomachs along that street.

September 1st

Girdhari Lal to call for me at 7.30. Waited for him till 9.45—Then started, met him on the way. Moved to his home.

Took down 2 depositions—

Went to Tarn Taran at 12.30 with Purushottam, Girdhari Lal & Maqbul Mohamad[6]. Took down several statements.

Interview Hari Chand, pleader now at Amritsar about agreement ex. by over 200 people in Tarn Taran not to participate in public meetings etc.

Took W. Ss[7] from L. Ralla Ram[8] & L. Amin Chand[9]—pleaders. Both in a funk and afraid of publicity.

Visited Golden Temple at Tarn Taran.

Maqbul Mohamad's account of an incident at Amritsar on the 10th April :

"On the 10th just after the firing stopped at the carriage overbridge[10] I went to the hospital and brought Dr. Dhanpat Rai[11] there. Mr G. S. Salaria[12], Dr. Dhanpat Rai and I first came to dress a stout young lad of about 18 who lay badly wounded with his intestines and abdominal viscera turned out and lying in the dusty road. He made signs for water. I brought it in my cap and poured some into his mouth. He revived a little and could then blurt out a few words. Dr. Dhanpat Rai then came to attend on him. The young man with faltering accents said : "*meri koi ummeed naheen, mere nal ke bhai ka intizam karo.*"[13] He stopped, then gasped brokenly: "*Hindu-Musulman ki jai*" and expired."

6. A pleader in the High Court and a resident of Amritsar.
7. Written statements.
8. A pleader, land-owner and, at the time of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, a Municipal Commissioner in Tarn Taran in Amritsar district. On 22 April 1919, he was arrested without warrant and brought to Tarn Taran. He was released when some people gave a bond by way of security, but was dismissed from the post of Municipal Commissioner.
9. A pleader in Tarn Taran, Amritsar district. He along with others was asked to execute a bond to the effect that they would not take part in politics.
10. Now known as the Padam Bhandari bridge. It was the most frequented route from the Civil Lines to the town.
11. A medical practitioner and a Congressman of Amritsar.
12. A barrister of Amritsar; arrested on the charge that he had taken a leading part in the Satyagraha Day meeting held on 6 April 1919. He was released after six weeks as nothing could be proved against him.
13. "There is no hope of my survival; take care of the brother who is lying by my side."

Chief incidents at Tarn Taran :

1. Agreement wh. about 200 people were made to sign pledging themselves not to participate in public meetings &c for 3 years on pain of paying 5000/- severally and individually—Plenty of evidence of this—e.g. Amin Chand, and many others in Mandi. But see Hari Chand.
2. Arrest without warrant of L. Ralla Ram.

Returned from Tarn Taran at 6 p.m. Before leaving the place were treated to sweatmeats &c by owners of Mandi who insisted on our partaking of them. Tried to get out of it at first as cholera prevalent but eventually gave in.

Nothing more done today—

To go to Jallianwala tomorrow 7.30 a.m.

September 2nd

1. Lussu, Tobacco Merchant, Lakar Mandi, Katra Jallianwala.
2. Maula Baksh, mason, was present in the House on 13th April.
3. Jhandoo, hand cart puller
4. Deenu —do—
5. Barkat Ali —do—
6. Mian Mohd Baksh, Havildar, pensioner, Police
7. Mian Ibrahim, Darner

Houses of all these persons are in Baghwali Gali or Biwi Gali at a corner.

Bullet marks in adjoining joints

The tall high house (owner Jhanda Singh) behind Murad Baksh's house in Baghwali Gali (adjoining Jallean wala Bagh) shows two distinct marks of bullets about 30—35 feet high.

Another mark on an adjoining house. 5 or 6 marks of bullets in backwall of Mana Singh's house (on rent) about 25—30 ft. high. We saw them from inside the house of Mrs. Begi, widow of Fateh Din, Bagh Wali Gali.

One mark in Iswar Singh's house adjoining Mrs. Begi's house 25 ft.

One mark in latrine wall on roof of Mohamad Bakshi's house, 25 ft. (House now occupied by Nanak Pahalwan on rent).

3 marks on Siddhu's house wall.

7 marks Md Bakshi Havildar's house—roof wall—(exclusive of marks on outside wall facing garden which contains 11 marks—These have been photographed)

Lussu's house facing gali—2 marks

Mir Wali Ullah—relative of Mir Riaz-ul-Hasan[14] resident of red house opp J. W. Bagh—is a military officer [and] was present near troops—made to hand bullets to soldiers.

Clerk in 1st Sappers & Miners. Brother of Mir Abdulla Sub-inspector.

Ahmad Husain, son-in-law of Nizam Din, Hony. Magistrate—he has a bullet.

Bullet mark on roof of Riaz-ul-Hasan's house—facing garden—Another mark in wall.

3 or 4 (?) marks on roof of Chaudhri Hakim Singh's house, and 2 marks in Mehr Dina's house—both houses opposite Mir Riaz-ul-Hasan's house.

Note: We visited roof of Riaz-ul-Hasan's house—Noticed that it was not possible for him to see on the *Hansli* side of the entrance.

Husain Shah, his nephew (policeman) and another—most important witnesses. Will come tomorrow September 3rd at 2 p.m.

Kallu Pahalwan intimidated by police and prevented from giving evidence in favour of Chaga.

Went with Girdharilal, P.D. Tandon, & Ramji Dar, to Jallian Wala Bagh at 8 a.m. Examined the inside closely specially noticing bullet marks &c. Then jumped over wall into Bagh Wali Gali. People very reticent—would not give us any information at first. Gradually we inspired a little confidence—Took down several statements. The gali said to have contained about 250 corpses after the firing! Examined all the neighbouring roofs of houses for bullet marks. Found many of them—some very high up.

Remarkable case of little boy aged 5 or so who remained on open roof right through firing and escaped unhurt! Thought they were fireworks! Walls round about him riddled with bullets.

Visited other houses in neighbourhood. Some important statements recorded. Riaz-ul-Hasan's house (red)

Returned at 12.30

Some more statements recorded—

Husain Shah & Co—Impt witnesses. Had a long talk with them. Did not record their statements—Asked them to come tomorrow—

Kallu Pahalwan &c &c.

14. A resident in one of the houses which abutted on the Jallianwala Bagh; in his evidence before the sub-committee of the Indian National Congress, he said that a bullet had struck the roof of his house on 13 April 1919 when General Dyer ordered firing.

Note: Conflicting testimony about presence of a machine gun or a "Lewis" gun. Also as to exact position taken up by firing parties. One person gives very circumstantial acct of some quick firing gun with a large bore being used. Others deny having seen it.

Sent a short letter to father.

Took a drive in the evening.

September 3rd

Jalli Wallian Well [sic]—Water level from surface of ground—10 ft 3 in (taken on 21st August 1919)
Depth of water—17 ft 4 in.

Total number of arrests in Tarn Taran case in which some prominent lawyers are also included, is 120

Of this

20	acquitted
82	sentenced to 2 years
18	„ to minor terms 1½ to 6 months
120	

Most Impt
Kasur Case[15]

Charna or Charn Das and another.

These two are among the 18 who have been executed. It is said that their sentences have been subsequently reduced ! ! VERIFY.

September 3rd

Took few statements—Day partially wasted owing to misapprehension and people not keeping appointment.

September 4th

To be done

1. Get exact figures from H.O. of casualties
2. Photos of Jalnawala Bagh

September 5th

See Puckle[16] between 3—4

15. The confinement of two pleaders for a long period, and the flogging of six schoolboys.
16. Sir Frederick Puckle; member of the I.C.S. serving in the Punjab.

Bhagmul Lakriwala &s and others died at J.L. B.
Killed at J.W. Bagh.
Phumman age 55
Katra Ram Garin
Bazar Do Do
Near Akhara Brahmshub Akhara
Died five days later.

September 6th

Husain Shah
Firozdin
Ghulam Md | Impt witnesses

Bagh wali Gali
| April 6th
| April 10th

Husain Shah

Bhagwan hit on 10th
Policemen with 2nd drum beat on 13th
B. Kanhaiya Lal.[17]

Find boy — Arrangements for meeting on 13th. Cleaning of garden—a boy came. Husain Shah knows him.
Troops passed round garden.
C.I.D. people depart to Riaz-ul-Hasan's house—
Immediate firing — no interval.

September 6th
Left Amritsar by Calcutta mail 3.18 p.m.
September 7th

arrived Solon	10.45
left Solon	12.30
arrived Simla	3.30

Stopped at Shant Kutir

September 7th to 13th Simla
September 10th, 11th, 12th—attended Council meetings
September 13th went Solon
September 15th Returned Simla
Daulat Ram Bali
IV Year
C/o Prof. S. N. Das Gupta Mission College
Lahore

17. A senior pleader of Amritsar.

Father of above was assist. Station Master at Kasur. He and B. Matan Chand, also Assist. Stat. Master, arrested by police 2 days after riot.

Father transferred to Lahore Jail. Daulat Ram walks to Lahore and sees father in jail.

B. Matan Chand's son (Jagannath) & a stranger come to Daulat Ram and suggest engaging counsel. Stranger sings praises of R. B. Niranjan Das, formerly public prosecutor of Lahore. Eventually all go to Niranjan Das's house. He wants 1000/-. On stranger's intervention agrees to 500/- which was paid to him on the spot. 500/- paid to Munshi—Stamped receipt taken.

Next day Daulat Ram heard that his father had been taken to Kasur. He went there and found that father had been released. After 2 or 3 days Daulat Ram went to Lahore and he and Jagannath asked Niranjan Das for his money back. He refused to give it.

Later both Daulat Ram's father and Matan Chand dismissed from Ry service. Straitened circumstances now.

Jagannath is a student in the Khalsa College Amritsar.

For Ambala

Statement from
Mr Duni Chand B.A. LL.B.
Vakil
Ambala

Thompson's speech[18]

Date of D.Cs[19] proclamation asked for particulars—casualties[20] in J.W. Bagh.
See old files CMG for Gujranwala incident[21]—
Hindus & Muslims together
Racket court incident[22] in Amritsar
Manoharlal—family

18. J. P. Thompson (1873-1935); member, I.C.S., Chief Secretary, Punjab, (1916-21); in his speech in the Indian Legislative Council on 19 September 1919 had called the description by Pandit Malaviya of the incidents in the Punjab as a distortion or an exaggeration or a misunderstanding of the facts and said only 291 persons had been killed.
19. Sir Miles Irving, I.C.S; Deputy Commissioner in Amritsar, 1919.
20. The Sewa Samiti estimated the number of deaths in Amritsar as at least 500. Though the Government at first rejected this figure as an over-estimate, it later virtually accepted them.
21. The police had opened fire on an excited crowd, and this led to some acts of hooliganism.
22. Several lawyers, doctors, bankers and others had been kept handcuffed for days in an open racket court.

Swimming club notes of evidence &c
Salaaming[23] together
2nd offence — Ramnagar — King's effigy[24]
Corpse in J.W. Bagh—Verify story narrated by T[hompson].
Shastri's last speech[25]—Revolutionary activities
Horniman[26]—Gandhi—Jalna Bagh—Crawling—Ganpat's telegram—Ali Gauhar[27]
cf. L.C.C. p. 76 p.w. 46—Porters &c in Lahore

Well incident[28]

Police visited well 5 days after Malaviyaji's letter

1. Lowndes[29] reference to Rampal's[30] speech being written by some one else—
   Addresses[31] presented to O'Dwyer—Challenge Umar Hayat[32], who has said to Malaviyaji that he has copy corrected by Thompson.
2. Ambulance arrangements at Jalna Bagh
   cf. Father's speech

23. In Lyallpur, every Indian passing a European was required to salute him, and in some other places Indians were required to descend from carriages if a European passed by.
24. The Martial Law authorities in Ramnagar had fabricated a story that the effigy of King George had been burnt and had arrested 28 persons on this charge.
25. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946); a Liberal leader and friend of Mahatma Gandhi; High Commissioner for India in South Africa, 1927-29. The speech referred to here was a condemnation of the Rowlatt Act.
26. Benjamin Guy Horniman (1873-1948); a British journalist and author who was committed to the Indian freedom movement; founded, with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, *The Bombay Chronicle* in 1913; a leader of the Home Rule League; deported to England in 1919; founder and editor of *Indian National Herald*, 1926-29; Editor-in-Chief, *Bombay Sentinel*, 1933-45.
27. A C.I.D. inspector who was believed to have excited the wrath of a crowd by certain derogatory remarks.
28. The presence of corpses in the well, denied by the Government but testified to by many eye-witnesses.
29. Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1919.
30. Raja Rampal Singh (1879-1937); a leading taluqdar and member of U.P. Legislative Council, 1909-1916, of the Imperial Legislative Council, 1916-20, and of the Council of State, 1920-35. He was also a member of the Hindu Mahasabha and the British Indian Association.
31. Farewell addresses presented to Sir Michael O'Dwyer (1864-1940), Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1913-19, and a diehard imperialist. He authorised the imposition of martial law in the Punjab in 1919, when the massacre at Amritsar occurred.
32. Sir Umar Hayat Tewana (1874-1944); a loyalist landlord of the Punjab.

3. Bombing from aeroplanes! Comparison to war conditions.
   Anti air craft guns! *lathis!*
   What was distance of aeroplanes from ground—estimate 50 ft! (Statement of Master Inder Singh, Supt. Hostel Gujranwala). On 15th bombing in suburbs of Gujranwala, e.g. Gharjakh, Bhagwanpura, Dulle-villages.
4. Ganpat Rai's telegram.
5. Casualties at Jalna Bagh
   My conversation with Puckle—Number of shots fired 1700
   Dhulan Dass's information 2500 (from Dyer). Puckle's proclamation 2nd week August—Govt. wakes up 4 months after perhaps owing to presence of S.C.[33] of U.P.—Callousness for human life.
6. *Crawling!*
   Assert as a fact that people forced by butt end of rifles.
7. *Salaaming* refer to figures in statements.
8. Corpse in well incident—Correspondence—Take strong attitude—Challenge Thompson to stick to his statements in public.
9. Challenge other official members to repeat slander statements in public.
10. Jalna Wala corpses near exits
11. Racket Court incident. Thompson's denial that handcuffed together a lie! "Similar inconveniences"![34]
12. In Jalna Bagh boy at Khalsa College—killed—age 14. Father died on active service. Sohan Singh—son's name died in Dhulan Dass's home next morning.
    Sardar Chandur Singh (father) killed in war.
13. Copies refused—cf. father's speech.
14. Malaviyaji's ?n—Wounded in Lahore taken to Thana (far) not hospital (near) although doctors offered to attend to them.
    cf. Father's speech.
15. Smith's C. S. refusal to attend wounded. Refers to Gandhi.
16. Ask how many were admitted to hospital after J.B. Was there one? (Note People wounded at bridge were admitted to Hospital)
17. Lyallpur Bhoora case
    ?? Enquiry after conviction held accidental fire. What happened to people convicted by Military Court—acquitted in appeal. Ask Tek Chand.

33. Special Commissioners.
34. Thompson had said that while respectable Indians had been kept in the racket court, several Englishwomen and children were exposed to not dissimilar inconveniences within a few yards of the racket court.

18. Quote Gandhi's reference & Viceroy's speech and refer to his analysis of Military law cases. Commend them to Govt.
19. Govt's reliance on military law.
    Judgment. Begging the ?n
20. P.C. appeals in summary cases.

Solon, October 2nd

1. Cable to England—Neville[35]
   Come as early as possible
   Also about journalist.
2. Send money to Neville by cable from *xxx* fund.
3. Malaviyaji to write to Govt of India (Secretary Home Deptt) asking for copy of terms of reference of Enquiry Committee, a programme of its sitting and the procedure to be adopted.
4. Write to C. R. Das[36] & Jehangir Petit[37] re counsel and solicitors.
   Mr Andrews[38]
   C/o Byramji
   Gujranwala

Original of map of Amritsar Kauriyanwala Khuh & Bridge side to be obtained from the man who made them. (Abdul Aziz) Ask Jewanlal G.

Recruiting in Shahpur Dist.

1. Get copy of judgment and other papers in the Mitha Lal case (1918)
   Fazl-i-Husain[39] appeared for defence.
2. Case of murder of Nadir Husain, Tahsildar of Bhera (1918)
   Judgment & evidence &c.
3. A third case about 1918.

35. A solicitor who, on the invitation of the Congress Enquiry Committee, came from England to the Punjab in the winter of 1919.
36. Chitta Ranjan Das (1870-1925); leading barrister of the Calcutta High Court; joined the Indian National Congress 1906; formed with Motilal Nehru the Swaraj Party, 1922; President of the Congress, 1922. Das was a legendary figure in Bengal where he won the triple crown—leader of the Swaraj Party, Mayor of Calcutta, and President of the Bengal Congress Committee—and his generosity was fabulous. The whole of India knew him as Deshbandhu, 'friend of the country.'
37. (1879-1946); merchant and mill-owner; agent for the Petit group of mills.
38. Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940); came out to India in 1904 as a member of the Cambridge Brotherhood but left the mission nine years later; a friend of Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore and closely identified with the nationalist movement.
39. (1877-1936); a lawyer of the Punjab who later was the chief organiser of the Unionist Party and Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

4. Get figures of 107 and 110 cases
   (i) for one year before Delhi Conference
   (ii) Do Do after Do Do
5. Other cases in the courts in which pressure was brought to bear.
6. Instances of oppression, outrage &c on women
   (N.B. Tewana[40] is a resident of Shahpur & he took a prominent part in recruiting)
7. Gujranwala, Kasur, Rohtak &c R.R.[41] to go first to Shahpur—Then Andrews etc.

Students in Lahore

RR to prepare their cases

Criminal administration Report for 4 years 1914-1918

Allegation of conspiracy[42]—Did anyone in Lahore or Amritsar on 11th or 12th, when no police present in city, try to get fire arms from licence holders?

40 Apart from having helped in the recruitment of soldiers during the First World War, Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tewana also helped at the time of the Punjab disorders in April 1919 in raising within a day three hundred horsemen to look after a long railway line in his district.

41. This person can not be identified; possibly Lala Ralla Ram.

42. According to the Hunter Committee: "on the evidence before us there is nothing to show that the outbreak in the Punjab was a part of pre-arranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force...."

15. Roads to Freedom[1]

"A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of Communism." So wrote Marx[2] in his famous Communist manifesto[3] over seventy years ago. And today the spectre has materialised and is holding the western

1. J. N. Miscellaneous Papers, N.M.M.L.
   This incomplete review of Bertrand Russell's book, *Roads to Freedom,* first published in 1918, was written sometime after April 1919.
2. Karl Marx (1818-1883); German social philosopher and author of Capital.
3. The Communist Manifesto, drafted by Marx and Engels and first published in German in London in February 1848, remains the basic document of International Communism.

world in its grip. Russia and Hungary have ended the age-long domination of the capitalist and the owner of property; Germany and Austria, finding no hope in the peace imposed upon them, are openly flirting with Bolshevism; and ominous murmurs are heard even in the realms of the Big Four[4] who are fashioning the world in the *Salle d'Horloge* in Paris. And the statesmen and the diplomats like the kings of old, fearful lest the spirit might put an end to their power and authority, are marshalling their hosts to exorcise this spectre. What is this spectre, this new spirit which is conquering the peoples of Europe and America and yet is so bitterly opposed and maligned by the men in authority? Few people in India have apparently given a thought to it, although on the high authority of H.E. the Viceroy,[5] not to mention the oracles of the Anglo-Indian press, the recent disturbances in the Punjab and elsewhere were due to the poisonous influence of Bolshevism. To most of us Bolshevism has come to mean the most degraded and the most cruel tyranny it is possible to imagine, just as Anarchism to the average man means the throwing of bombs on innocent people. Horrible excesses are ascribed to the Bolshevists in Russia and we naturally judge of the theory by its exponents. But if this is so then it is difficult to imagine how millions of human beings should prefer this tyranny and degradation and should voluntarily labour to bring it into existence. Europe must either be "rattling back into barbarism" or else there must be something deeper, something more worth having in these various *isms* than the newspaper accounts would lead us to believe. In either event a dispassionate and critical study of the ideas underlying the world movements of the day cannot but be of help to us in solving the problems which affect our own country.

It is for this reason amongst others that we welcome Mr. Bertrand Russell's[6] *Roads to Freedom* (Grant Allen). Mr. Russell, who has been described as "the ablest and most unpopular figure in contemporary England", belongs to no definite party, nor is he a blind follower of any *ism*. His sympathies and inclinations are well known

4. Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando.
5. Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy 1916-21.
6. (1872-1970); British philosopher, mathematician and essayist whose writings had a profound influence on his generation. Never a cloistered philosopher, he was imprisoned for a brief period during the First World War because of an anti-war publication, and after the Second World War was an energetic campaigner for nuclear disarmament. He won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950.

but he cannot be accused of being an orthodox socialist or an unyielding anarchist like Kropotkin.[7] In his book he has critically examined Marxian Socialism with its later variations, Anarchism and Syndicalism, and having taken the good points of each has suggested his own scheme for the fashioning of a happier and a better world.

The search for freedom and the attempt to better the lot of humanity is no new thing. In India it has for ages past taken the spiritual form of the search for the Ultimate Reality, and the old Indian reformers have laid little stress on the physical side of existence. But as modern life has grown more complex it has become impossible, even if it were possible in the dim and distant past, to ignore the material side of human life. True salvation may or may not be obtained by means of religion alone, but how is a poor starving and oppressed wretch who can hardly keep body and soul together and whose entire being is centred in his empty stomach, think of religion and of eternity? So it was that modern thinkers in India laboured to better the material condition of the people, but at every turn they were checkmated, not so much by the superstitions and the ignorance of the masses, but by the inherent difficulty of progress in a country under alien domination. All effort was then concentrated on gaining political freedom for the country and we looked to representative institutions as the panacea for all ills. Some sort of representative institutions and a toy responsible government have now been promised us under the new Reform Bill but it is doubtful if anyone besides Mr. Montagu[8] is enamoured of them. Full responsible government would no doubt be a great step in advance for us, but let us not forget that representative institutions and democracy as prevalent in Western countries at present have proved failures. Much was expected of the war. It was to have revolutionised the fabric of human affairs, but it has ended without bringing any solace or hope of permanent peace or betterment. President Wilson's[9] brave words have

7. Prince Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921); a Russian anarchist thinker.
8. Edwin Samuel Montagu (1879-1924); Secretary of State for India, 1917-1922. In 1918, after a visit to India, he, along with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, made proposals which formed the basis of the Reforms of 1919, introducing dyarchy in the provinces.
9. Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924); President of the United States, 1913-21.

remained but words, and the "fourteen points",[10] where are they? We have sorrowfully to recognise that "the Millennium is not for our time. The great moment has passed and for ourselves it is again the distant hope that must inspire us, not the immediate breathless looking for deliverance."

Present-day democracy, manipulated by the unholy alliance of capital, property, militarism and an over-grown bureaucracy, and assisted by a capitalist press, has proved a delusion and a snare. It is as overbearing, as militant, as chauvinistic as the autocracy or plutocracy which preceded it. But this is not the fault of democracy. Rather it is due to the many-sided influences which capitalists, aided and abetted by a host of others who fatten under the present regime, have exercised over the governments of the West. The problem before us is to free democracy from their malign influences. The task is not easy, for the entrenched hosts of what has been happily called the "interestocracy" will fight to the last and use all the devices they are past masters of to delude and defeat the people. But let us at least fix upon our ideal and labour for its realisation. The rest lies with the gods.

Orthodox Socialism does not give us much hope. The war has shown that an all-powerful state is no lover of individual liberty. It is the breeding ground for the bureaucrat, who in the West as in the East, is most intolerant of criticism and is seldom enamoured of progress. Life under Socialism would be a joyless and a soulless thing, regulated to the minutest detail by rules and orders framed by the all-powerful official Cortes.

Syndicalism and Guild Socialism were both revolts against orthodox socialism and against parliamentary action. They pin their faith on the General Strike whereby they hope to attain their end. They would retain the state but would at the same time make all the industries autonomous, each industry having its National Guild. The

10. President Wilson's plan for peace, put forward on 8 January 1918: renunciation of secret diplomacy, freedom of the seas, removal of economic barriers between nations, reduction of armaments, adjustment of colonial claims with concern for the wishes and interests of the inhabitants as well as for the titles of rival claimants, general restoration of conquered territories in Russia, preservation of Belgian sovereignty, settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine question, redrawing of the Italian frontiers according to nationalities, division of Austria-Hungary in conformance with its nationalities, redrawing of the Balkan boundaries with reference to historically established allegiance and nationalities, Turkish control only of their own people and freedom of navigation through the Dardanelles, establishment of an independent Poland with access to the sea and provision for a general association of nations under specific covenants.

various National Guilds will elect a Guild Congress which will be the final authority in all matters concerning the producers. Parliament will represent the consumers and will be co-equal in its power with the Guild Congress. In matters of dispute a joint committee of Parliament and the Guild Congress will be the ultimate sovereign body. Thus under this form of socialism there will be a kind of dyarchy after Mr. Montagu's own heart.

Anarchism—we do not of course refer to the throwing of bombs by lunatics and criminals — would place the liberty of the individual above everything. It would not allow any State to interfere with it, in fact it would have no central authority whatever. To us, born and bred in a world so utterly different from the Anarchist's Utopia, it is most difficult to appreciate practicability of his principles. Pure Anarchism postulates a community of saints and few of us, if any, with the exception of Mr. Gandhi, have any claims to sainthood.

Mr. Russell approves of Anarchism as the ultimate ideal but considers its adoption for some time to come impossible. For the present he suggests a judicious mixture of Guild Socialism and Anarchism. He discusses and meets the various difficulties and doubts which arise and produces a scheme which on the face of it is certainly not a wholly impracticable one. Doubts remain and many problems still await solution but what scheme or system of Government is free from them? Indian politicians would do well to spend some of the time they give to the blue books, which a benevolent Government hurl at them every few days, to Mr. Russell's able and illuminating work.

We in India have yet to travel over the long road of representative government before we can proceed on different lines. But we are a communal people and when the time comes perhaps some form of communism will be found to suit the genius of the people better than majority rule. Let us prepare for that time and let our leaders give thought to it. For representative Government by itself will not bring full satisfaction to the tortured soul of India even as it has failed to solve the problems of the West. It will not give us the world we are looking for. For in the words of Mr. Russell "......

16. Corruption Among the Police Officers[1]

Sir,—I have just noticed in the papers that Mr. Thompson, the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, made the following statement in the Imperial Council in the course of the debate on the Indemnity Bill[2] on September 25th :—

"He (Pandit Malaviya) had been trying to prove quite unreasonably that police officers had been bribed. Such an attack could hardly contribute to cooperation which the Pandit so heartily desired. Moreover the Punjab Government had written two letters, one to the Pandit and the other to Mr. Motilal Nehru inviting their assistance to scrutinize the case. There was no answer from the Hon. Pandit and the answer from the Hon. Mr. Motilal Nehru gave them no assistance."

Mr. Thompson has already gained an unenviable notoriety for his methods of controversy and his offensive behaviour in Council and his statements will be taken with more than the proverbial grain of salt. It would be weariness to the flesh to controvert all the mis-statements which Mr. Thompson managed to compress in his two speeches in Council. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has already dealt with many of them most effectively, and Mr. Thompson is not likely to forget for many a day the severe castigation he received from the Pandit. But, unrepentant and unabashed, he rose again and perpetrated a few more—blunders, shall I say?

As the statement above quoted is likely to create an incorrect impression of what actually transpired, I crave the hospitality of your columns for the following account.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has already denied in Council the truth of Mr. Thompson's statement as far as it concerned him. Pandit Motilal Nehru has so far received no communication from the Punjab Government on the subject. He did receive a letter from the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar on the 14th August. This letter ran as follows :—

> Dear Sir,—I understand that you are in possession of certain evidence regarding bribery at Amritsar. Similar allegations against the police have come to my ears. If any of these allegations can be substantiated, Government will be only too glad to prosecute,

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle*, 2 October 1919.
2. A Bill introduced in September 1919 to indemnify officers of Government and other persons in respect of certain acts done under martial law imposed in the Punjab.

but up to the present, except in two cases, in which convictions have already been obtained, the allegations have not been sufficiently definite to take action on.

If you feel you can place me in possession of such information as you have I shall be glad to pursue the matter furthei.

I am
Yours truly,
F. H. Puckle,
Offg. Deputy Commissioner

Amritsar
August 11, 1919.

The following reply was sent by Pandit Motilal Nehru on the same day :—

Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 11th August forwarded from Allahabad has just reached me here.

During my short visit to the Punjab at the end of June last, I was occupied with much graver matters than the defection of the Police. Instances of bribery were brought to my notice and though I casually noted them, I did not pay particular heed to them in face of what I actually saw on the spot revealing a far sadder state of things than mere corruption of the Police. I shall, however, be pleased to give you such information as I possess before long as I intend going to Amritsar shortly.

Lucknow
August 14, 1919.

Yours truly,
Motilal Nehru

The very next day Pandit Motilal Nehru was able to go to the Punjab and on arrival at Lahore he wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar the letter, an extract from which was read by Pandit Malaviya in the course of his speech in Council on the 25th. This letter ended with a request to be informed of a suitable time for an interview. Unfortunately the interview could not take place owing to the Deputy Commissioner being absent on tour when Pandit Motilal Nehru went to Amritsar. On the 31st August, Mr. Nehru had to leave Amritsar and return to Lucknow. As Pandit Malaviya had previously left Amritsar, Mr. Nehru asked me to see the Deputy Commissioner and discuss the question of police bribery with him.

On the 5th September, I had an interview with Mr. Puckle, the offg. D.C. [Deputy Commissioner]. I told him that Pandit Motilal Nehru was in possession of certain data with regard to police bribery. This information had been supplied to him in the strictest confidence and he

was unable to part with it unless the Government gave certain assurances. I informed him, and he appeared to be well aware of this, that the vast majority of the people were living in mortal terror of the police and would not dare to say anything against them unless definite assurances were given to them that they would not get into trouble. Many of them were under the impression that they had committed a crime by giving money to the police, although as I pointed out, this was extorted under various threats and could not be considered to be bribery. I suggested that the only way to inspire some confidence in the people was for Government to issue a proclamation announcing an amnesty to such persons as had given money to the police. I also reminded the D. C. that such an amnesty had previously been granted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the case of a subordinate judge who was prosecuted for receiving bribes. Mr. Puckle, however, did not consider the idea feasible and doubted if Government would agree to it. He said that as a matter of fact Government did not intend taking any action against any informer and he was willing to give this assurance to individuals who came to him with information. I told him that in view of the temper of the people, few would be satisfied with a private undertaking of this kind and would probably not come to him at all. As Mr. Puckle would not agree to a general amnesty, as suggested by me, I promised to inform Pandit Motilal Nehru of our conversation and to do my best to induce people to give the requisite information. As I expected, I found people very unwilling to divulge anything to the authorities on the strength of a private understanding. Soon after, I had to go to Simla at Pandit Malaviya's bidding and I have been unable to return to Amritsar since.

Mr. Thompson affects to be horrified at the idea of the police having taken bribes. I take it he has spent a considerable part of his life in India and I can only conclude that he is singularly incapable of learning anything. What the police could do and did do during the reign of terror which prevailed in some parts of the Punjab, I leave your readers to imagine. As far as Amritsar is concerned, I would only refer Mr. Thompson to the local authorities, who, I have reason to believe, consider it highly probable that a very large sum of money found its way to the pockets of the local police force during the Martial Law period. Some police officers have, in fact, already been convicted, as mentioned in Mr. Puckle's letter quoted above.

Mr. Thompson has told the Council that the official figure of 291 killed in the Jallianwala Bagh is the only reliable figure, that the Punjab Government did all it could to get at the true facts and figures and even went so far as to appoint sub-registrars to report every month. Mr. Thompson and the Government he represents appear to have pec-

uliar ideas of doing all in their power. On the 11th of August—four months after the tragedy—the D.C. of Amritsar issued a proclamation asking people to communicate to him by the 20th August the names of those who had died in the Jallianwala Bagh. What did the Government do during these four months? How many, if any, wounded persons were removed by the authorities from the Bagh on or after the fateful 13th of April and taken to hospital? Were any, and if so how many, dead bodies removed from the place by the authorities on or after that date? Were any steps whatever taken by them to ascertain the number of casualties before the D.C.'s proclamation of 11th August? Why was it that the strong and efficient Punjab Government refrained from taking any action for so long and then suddenly woke up? Was it because the presence of the "self-constituted special commissioners from the United Provinces" ruffled the calm waters of officialdom and forced them to action? Or was it because of the coming enquiry?

It is no business of mine to consider here what, if any, was the justification for the firing in the Jallianwala Bagh. I am only concerned here with the subsequent conduct of the Punjab authorities. Under what code of morality or even necessity can they justify the total lack of medical arrangements on the spot before and after that most terrible of tragedies? Evidence shows that after killing people by the hundreds they left the dead and dying unattended and uncared for, to be carted away by sorrowing relatives and members of the local *Sewa Samiti*[3], who had the courage to stir out in those dark days. General Hudson[4] was the special apologist of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy in Council. He is a high officer in an honourable and gallant service and I put it to him if he would have treated even a vanquished foe in this manner.

Mr. Thompson tells us that sub-registrars were appointed to register deaths. Who are these persons who have been glorified by the name of sub-registrar? Are they not mere *patwaris* whose word requires considerable corroboration before a court of law? Again, Mr. Thompson must know or ought to know that April 13 was the great *Vaisakhi* day at Amritsar when thousands of visitors came from all parts of the Punjab and some even from Sind and Afghanistan. What did these so-called sub-registrars do to find out the names of the dead

3. A social welfare organisation.
4. General Sir Havelock Hudson (1862-1944); Adjutant-General of India, 1917-1920.

from other districts? Does Mr. Thompson know how many hundreds of bullets were fired at the Jallianwala Bagh? If not, let him inquire. Does he know how many persons one regulation bullet will pierce if fired at short range into a dense crowd? If not, let him seek the information from a military friend. And when Mr. Thompson has added to his stock of knowledge, he will perhaps realise that the casualty figures given by the *Sewa Samiti* are nearer the mark than the official figure. He may be painfully surprised to learn that even the *Sewa Samiti* figures are far from complete and are being added to as fresh information comes in.

As for cooperation between officials and non-officials in a manner of this kind, it is not for me to venture an opinion. I shall only say that few Indians whatever their opinions may be—saving of course Sir Umar Hayat Tewana and his like—will care to cooperate with Mr. Thompson after the manner in which he has behaved in Council.

Solon,
Sept. 28.

Yours etc.,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. The Crawling Order[1]

Sir,—There appears to be some misapprehension as to the crawling order which was enforced in the Kauriyanwala Khuh in Amritsar. Mr. Gandhi refers to it in the issue of *Young India* of the 27th September as the "hands and knees" order. The evidence of respectable citizens of Amritsar shows that people were made to crawl not on their hands and knees but on their bellies after the manner of snakes and worms. I need hardly add that General Hudson's amazing supposition that people indulged in this pleasant pastime voluntarily and for the sake of gaining notoriety and martyrdom is not borne out by the statements of those who were forced to do it by the military.

May I also refer you to the question relating to this incident of which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave notice but which was disallowed by the Viceroy? The question ran as follows :—

(a) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that in the lane known as the Duggalan-ki-gali in the quarter known as Kauriyanwala Khuh, where Miss Sherwood was assaulted, every Indian

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6 October 1919.

irrespective of age and position in life, wishing to pass through the lane, was made to crawl on his belly through the whole length of the lane and British soldiers were posted from morning to 8 p.m. to enforce the observance of this order?

(b) Whether as a consequence of the enforcement of this order, houses in the lane remained unscavenged for many days?

Solon,
October 1.

Yours etc.,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. Telegram to Mahatma Gandhi[1]

Lahore

31 Oct 1919

Mahatma Gandhi
C/o Principal Rudra[2] St Stephens College
Delhi

Government communique[3] vague and unsatisfactory (.) Kindly inform us of situation and prospects (.) Father wires he is ill (.) Has Das arrived

Jawaharlal

1. Gandhi—Nehru Correspondence, Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Serial No. 6968.
2. Sushil K. Rudra (1861-1925); was principal of St. Stephen's College in Delhi from 1906 and a friend of Andrews, Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi.
3. The Government Communique referred to was issued by the Secretary of the Disorders Inquiry Committee :—

"The Committee has been appointed to investigate the recent disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and the Punjab, their causes and the measures taken to cope with them.... In view of the fact that the proceedings of the Committee are of the nature of an inquiry and not litigation between defined parties to settle disputes, the Committee propose to adopt the following course :— (A) The enquiry will be conducted primarily by the Members of the Committee themselves. (B) Counsels appearing by leave for particular persons or bodies will at all times be permitted to draw the attention of the Committee to any points that might otherwise be overlooked and may by leave of the Committee cross-examine as to any specific matters arising upon the statement lodged by their clients."

Mahatma Gandhi and Andrews had come from Lahore to Delhi to place the demands of the Congress sub-committee before the Inquiry Committee.

19. To Ramji Dar[1]

29/1/20

My dear Ramji,

You will forgive me, I am sure, if I do not accept the burden of choosing books for you. It would have been a pleasurable burden if I had not been up to my eyes in work. As it is I would request you to make the choice yourself. I shall of course be delighted to make suggestions. I enclose a small cheque for the books. They will I trust be of the kind which one reads and reads again, which one treasures, and which console one in the ups and downs of life. Your friends who know you have already seen and appreciated your earnestness of spirit and your capacity for sacrifice. It is thus somewhat superfluous for me to venture to give good advice. I shall only express the fervent hope that you and your partner in life will ever follow the path of truth whatever may be the consequences. Be a satyagrahi in body, in mind and in soul and your people and your country will glory in you.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. Written on the occasion of Ramji Dar's marriage.

20. The Kanpur Case.[1]

F.A. 336 of 1917 (Cawnpore)
Lalta Prasad ...Pff—Apelt
vs
1. Mahadevji
2. Shiam Singh
3. Jwala Pd ...Defts Respdts
4. Janki Das
5. Bhagwan Das

Pff's appeal—I appear for all respdts.
Suit to declare that a will dt 22/11/14 is null & void[2]

==

[R 7] 22.11.14 Will ex by Gajadhar Lal (grandfather of Pff) almost entire property left to Pff—except Half share in a shop fetching a rent of Rs. 6/8 per month which left to Thakurji (idol)—Pff made manager of this temple.

==

Pff not given the right to alienate—value of entire property over Rs. 38000/-

==

1. "Notes of Cases" pp. 111-121. This case is the last entry in Jawaharlal's case-book and was the last case in which he appeared in the Allahabad High Court.
The facts of the case were that Gajadhar Lal, in a will made a few days before his death on 25 November 1914, had desired that after his death a part of the joint ancestral property be transferred to the family idol. This was challenged by his grandson, Lalta Prasad, and his mother. Lalta Prasad being only seventeen, his mother had filed a suit on his behalf on 18 November 1914 for partition of the property. The subordinate judge at Kanpur gave the verdict against him. Lalta Prasad appealed to the High Court, and a full bench upheld his appeal and decreed that Gajadhar Lal had no power to bequeath the joint ancestral property to the idol. Jawaharlal appeared for the respondents. [A.L.J. Vol. XVIII, 1920, pp. 503-12]
2. Under Hindu Law, till 1956, the Mitakshara law did not allow a father or a grandfather to bequeath his undivided coparcenary interest, unless he was the sole surviving coparcener. The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 permits a Mitakshara coparcener to dispose by will his individual interest in the coparcenary property. The right of a coparcener under the Dayabhagha law to dispose by will his interest in joint family property remains unchanged. Till 1870, a Hindu will could be oral or in unattested writing. Now, with the Hindu Wills Act of 1870 and the Indian Succession Act of 1925 as amended in 1926, every will has to be signed and attested.

25.11.14 Gajadhar Lal died.
Pff brings suit on allegation that family joint—grandfather not entitled to make the will. Undue pressure on him—collusions of defts—grandfather not in his proper senses at time etc.
All sorts of charges made agst Defts—but as no one except idol & Pff benefit under will—the presence of other defts immaterial.
Idol subsequently made deft.

Points for decision.

1. Was will validly & legally executed? Was Gajadhar fully in possession of senses etc?
2. Was property ancestral?
3. Even if property ancestral, was not Gajadhar competent to alienate a part of it for a pious purpose?

==

All points decided Defts favour by S.J. & suit dismissed.

==

Point 3. Alienation of part of ancestral property for a pious purpose—
Mayne—8th ed. p 595 Ghose I p 466-67
I.L.R. 8 All 76 Ghose II p 927 p 610
S
(Mitakshara Ch. I S. 1 para 28)
29
(approved & extended in 24 Bom. 547
6.W.R. 71 ? Contra See also 11 M.L.J. 310 ? Dist 8 All—Gift
7 M. 357 must be to family idol
11 M 246

Only a very small portion given to idol—about 1/35th—Rest given to the grandson (Pff)—Eminently reasonable.

==

Clear that joint property can be alienated in this manner even though the idol may not be a family idol.
Here it is a family idol—see description in will
Also dep(osition)s of Brindaban Damman Lal, Anandi & Ram Prasad.

first cousin of Gajadhar.

Point 2

Even if property originally ancestral—Pff's filing suit for partition enough for separation from date of suit.

[A 23] 18.11.1914 Suit for partition filed

22.11. 14 Gajadhar's will

43 I.A. 151 Girja Bai v Sadashiv

= 43 Cal 1031

39 A 496 P.C. Kamal Nain v Budh Singh

Intention to separate enough—mere volition.

In H.C. "partition" does not mean simply division of property into specific shares.

The decision to sever must be unequivocally expressed —etc

Minor bringing suit for partition

Clear that minor can bring such a suit under certain circumstances. Either malversation or *other circumstances which* make it for his interest that his share shd be partitioned.

Mayne. p.

Ghosh I p. 563

Contra 41 Mad 442

8 Cal 537

29 All 373

Qn: Is it for benefit of minor?

Here minor on verge of majority. Knew his own mind

Next friend—mother

In present plaint accuses his father of wasting property—alienations etc.

Mears CJ Piggott J	Part Heard 1/4/20

For 6th April (Satyagraha Day!)

Two points only to be dealt with by me:

1) Whether on date of will Gajadhar & his grandson were joint or separate.

2) Whether even if joint ancestral property, Gajadhar was competent to give a small part of it for a pious purpose.

If either of these decided in my favour, Pff's suit fails.

==

R 7 *Will* dt 22/11/14

Certain remarks made by K.N.K[3] not accurate—

3. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, the opposing counsel.

"Cut his grandson out from performing funeral ceremonies". Not so. Specially said grandson was to perform them, failing him other relatives.

References to Shyam Singh—He does not benefit. Inference drawn that he might do so if he performed *Shradh* ceremonies etc. No relief sought against him.

Consider will.

Declaration of separation—No motive for it as in effect only grandson benefits under will.

1. Almost whole property goes to Lalta Din
2. Half a shop to Mahadeoji but even of this Lalta Din appointed manager—*family idols*—no motive for lying specially as Lalta appointed Manager
3. Lalta to perform funeral ceremonies. Only if he refuses then other relatives step in.
4. Gaya ceremonies.

Eminently reasonable will—any Hindu might have made it.

K.N.K. criticised provisions relating to Shama Singh. My case that this is a perfectly valid clause (pious purpose) but not necessary for me to go into question as no relief sought. This part of will not challenged in appeal. Appeal *only* relates to the small gift to Mahadeoji. It is not sought to set aside the whole will. In effect it may amount to this but still what is wanted by Pff is a declaration that this particular clause in will is invalid & shd not be given effect to. As a whole the will may be perfectly valid and yet a particular clause may not be so. e.g. clause about alienation.

show beating brothers & cousins quarrels & make ups.

Original suit valued at over 38000—reliefs etc. Now deliberately valuation & reliefs changed. Pff must abide by this.

==

We admit that there may not have been a formal separation between Gajadhar & his grandson before the filing of the partition suit, although in effect they were separate as stated in Gajadhar's will. No sufficient evidence of this however.

So ?n resolves itself into this. What was effect of filing partition suit by Lalta Din.

Pff's age—Stated to be 17 in partition plaint. This was in 18.11.1914.

Present suit filed

On 17.3.16 (1 year & 4 months after the partition case) Pff's age given as 19 — It may be over 19. So that in any event his age in Nov. 1914 when partition suit filed must have been 17 yrs 8 months at least. He was technically a minor but he cannot be called a person of very tender age who was incapable of judging for himself. Verge of majority. Wd have attained majority during pendency of suit.

Admittedly, separation takes place by the mere declaration of intention by an adult member of the family, provided this is clear and unequivocal. The bringing of a partition suit is such a declaration.

O 32 R 12, 14

Also clear that a minor can bring such a suit for a partition when it is to his interest that his share shd be partitioned.

No diff between proceedings taken by adult or minor through next friend except that minor may set aside.

[Lalta Din's partition suit must have been decreed if Gajadhar had not died. Lalta wd have become a major during pendency and he could demand as of right partition. His intentions & frame of mind can be judged from his allegations in present suit agst his grandfather. Waste, unjustified alienations, harassment of Pff etc. In the event of his suit having been decreed, the partition wd have taken effect from date of suit. Made profits from them etc]

Argued that any one at liberty to act on behalf of minor—minor interests may be prejudiced etc.

Minor fully represented by guardian—Suits brought compromises

Partitions do take place during minority of members of family. A minor can get these set aside on proof that his interests have been injuriously affected.

Both cases same—no difference in principle and no reason why a difference shd be imported.

41 *Mad* 442 cited by K.N.K.

Tendency of Madras decisions to hold that partition cd not be effected by a unilateral declaration even though made by an adult—Regular course of Madras decisions. Then came.

35 All 80 (P.C.) *Suraj Narain* v *Iqbal Narain*

Even after this Madras High Ct hesitated to apply this rule—eventually referred matter to F.B.

39 Mad 159 F.B. J.J. express disagreement with P.C. ruling and follow it reluctantly. In this case as a matter of fact Pff was a minor and yet the ct held that filing of partition suit was enough to effect separation. But this question was not raised.

29 A 373 minor can bring suit

Then came 2 P.C. Cases | 43 Cal 1031 Girja Bai v Sadashiv
| 39 All 496 P.C. Kamal Nain v Budh Singh (Alld case)

In the 39a All case the partition suit had actually been dismissed yet the P.C. held that family had separated from date of suit.

==

In 41 Mad 442—the real ground for decision is that the person exercising the discretion to separate must be of an age capable of exercising such a discretion. see p 444

J.J. say clearly that even if he be a minor he must at least be capable of this.

At the lowest my case is, on the basis of this reasoning, that if the minor Pff is of an age when he can exercise such discretion, then his suit shd be treated as that of an adult.

Here facts very strong—age—subsequent conduct etc.

2. Even if family joint—Gajadhar competent to give away a portion of property for a pious purpose & Pff cannot challenge this.

At Pff's own valuation the capital value of property gifted is 1300/-. Half a shop fetching 6/8 per month rent.

Whole of immovable property valued by Pff at over 38000/-

Thus a very small portion is given to temples—about 1/30th — and even of this Pff made manager—absolutely no ?n of spite or malice.

==

If no temples then no Mahadevji—no Respdt No 1—who does Pff seek relief from?

K.N.K. argument self contradictory: either temples have been provided for or they do not exist! ! Clear from our evidence that temples *do* exist & contain family idols.

1. Statement in will—no object in lying
2. R2 Anandi—priest. woman—why not?
3. Brindaban R1

R 3 Damman Lal
A 2 Ram Prasad—priest
==

As against this Pff's statement that he does not know. Does not carry us very far. Lived apart from his father. Not clear how he was examined—No X Exm.

What was object of this gift, with Pff as manager, if temples did not exist? Why does Pff sue?

Law

K.N.K. refers to Bhup Singh's case—39 A 437 P.C. absolutely no bearing—Do not know if K.N.K. seriously relied on it. Case refers to the mortgage of jt family property by father and the son's liability in a suit to enforce this mortgage—?n of antecedent debts is discussed. Law laid down & general remarks in judgment apply only to the point in issue. There was never any ?n of this kind raised before P.C., nor was there any necessity for it.

Law quite clear and consistent—

Mitakshara Ch 1 S 1 paras 28, 29 Setlur p 610 commentaries, translations, & textbook writers & judges have consistently interpreted it in one way. Solitary exception, if it is an exception, is the un-reported case cited by K.N.K.

S.A. 1672 of 1917 dt 13/1/20 Knox J

Original text=see specially *explanation in text*. Can only have one meaning. Meaningless for *apatkale* to govern *dharmarthe*

"आपत्काले कुटुम्बार्थे धर्मार्थे च विशेषत :"

Translations etc

Colebrook—(ed 1869) p 19
Ghose Vol 2 p 92

Textbooks

Mayne p 595 Ramkrishna II p 44
Ghosh Vol I p 466
West & Buhler p 203

Col. Dig Bk III Ch iv (3) a promise to give for religious purpose must be kept—Even son compelled if father dies.

14 M.I.A. at 301, 302 (citing with approval Norton's Leading Cases on H.L. of Inheritance Pt II p 406)

8 All 76

approved & extended in 24 Bom 547 (Ranade J)

In Mad—11 M.L.J. 310—8 All dist—gift must be to family idol.

Long course of decisions for the last 50 years—stare decisis. only Knox's jt!

COSTS

Objection only taken to 1st 3 sets of fees

K.N.K. says that only Deft Respt 1—Mahadeoji is interested. Yet Pff left him out when suit filed. Main defts there were Defts 2—5. Mahadeoji added 3 months later.

Practically only 1 set of pleaders' fees allowed (excepting for one item of 50/-) Probably B Anand Sarup appeared for D.R. 1-5.

Mears C.J. | referred to Full Bench
Piggott J | 6/4/20

Trevelyan p 272
8 All 76 Raghunath v Govind
5 Cal S.D.A. 24 (29) Gopal Chand v Babu Kunwar
=5 S.D. 24 (1843)=5 Ben Sel R.
24 Bom 547 Ranade J. approves 8 All
11 M.L.J. 310
29 B 51 Gift to daughter valid
=31 B 373 P.C. ?
Con 16 Mad 353
(7 Mad 357 F.B.
(11 Mad 246
(6 W.R. 71
(11 W.R. 343
(27 M. 162 — 8 M. High Ct Reports—6
(16 M. 84 — 5 Cal 148 at 165
(30 M. 452 — 5 B 48 at 61
(22 B 825
(2 A. 635
(14 M.I.A. 301, 302

Mears C J | Allowed
Banerji J | appeal
Piggott J |
7/4/20

Norton's Leading Cases Pt II p 406
Gift—will
Originally only gifts — Mayne p 568—same power to make wills & gift

21. To Sir Sita Ram[1]

Savoy Hotel,
Mussoorie
11.5.20

My dear Pt. Sita Ramji,

I owe you a thousand apologies for the delay in answering your letter which I received over a month ago. This, I need hardly say, was not due to any lack of desire on my part to write to you. Circumstances conspired with my indifferent health to prevent me from doing many things I wanted to do. I trust you will forgive me.

I was delighted to see in the papers how successful your conference was. I wish it had been given to me to attend it and to have the pleasure of a talk with you on the various points you have touched in your letter.

I entirely agree with you in your suggestion that pamphlets should be issued in Hindi & Urdu to explain the Reforms Act, to show what it gives us and what it does *not* give us, and to point out how we can utilise it for approaching nearer to our ideals and aims. I would suggest not one pamphlet but several dealing with various aspects of the question. The difficulty is, who is to write them? I am utterly incapable of doing so in Hindi or Urdu. I shall write to a few friends in Allahabad and ask them to take the matter in hand. Can you suggest a suitable person?

I do not think there can be two opinions as to the desirability of the Village *Panchayats*[2] being elected and not nominated. In fact in drawing up a tentative programme for the constituencies we had laid stress on this point. I am a great believer in devolution and would have as little centralisation as possible. I would give the Village *Panchayats* considerable powers over civil and criminal matters. The matter should certainly be agitated in the public press. I wish you would kindly write on the subject and send your contribution to *The Independent*. The Editor, who as you no doubt know, is now Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, would then take it up and comment on it.

I expect to remain here for a month or so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Sita Ram Papers, National Archives of India.
2. Village council traditionally consisting of 5 wise elders.

22. To Father[1]

Savoy Hotel,
Mussoorie
14.5.20

My dear Father,

Greatness is being thrust on me. I have just had a visit from the Superintendent of Police. He showed me a letter from Government addressed to him in which he was asked to take a "positive undertaking" from me to the effect that I would refrain from seeing or having any communication with the Afghan delegates[2]. In case I refused to give this undertaking an externment order was to be served on me. I told him that as a matter of fact I had no intention of having anything to do with the Afghan delegation. I had not even seen any of them from a distance so far. He said this was so. He knew it perhaps from various C.I.D. sources. But I told him that on principle I was opposed to giving any undertaking. He was very courteous and advised me to give an undertaking. Eventually I told him that I would send a definite answer this evening. I have no doubt in my mind as to what this answer is going to be. The result will be that I shall be asked to leave Mussoorie. I do not know how much time will be allowed me. I shall wire to you when I have to leave. I shall go to Allahabad. I shall write more fully this evening.

Your loving son
Jawahar

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. An Afghan peace delegation had come to India for talks with officials of the Government of India. Jawaharlal, his wife and mother were staying at the same hotel, and the Government directed Jawaharlal either to give an undertaking not to meet the Afghans or to leave Mussoorie. Though Jawaharlal had no intention of meeting the Afghans, he refused to give any undertaking and left Mussoorie. On hearing of his mother's ill-health, he was planning to defy the externment order and return to Mussoorie, when the order was withdrawn.

23. To Father[1]

Savoy Hotel,
Mussoorie
14.5.20

My dear Father,

I wrote a short note to you this morning soon after seeing the Superintendent of Police. He had shown me a letter addressed to one Adams,[2] perhaps the Collector here. I forgot to notice the name of the sender but I suppose it was a Secretary to Government. The letter said something to the effect that I was to be asked to give a "positive undertaking", to the effect that I would not try to see or have any communication with the Afghan delegates. In case I did not give such an undertaking I was to be externed. I told the Superintendent that I had come up here with my family for the sake of my wife's health. He said he was aware of this. I also told him that I had not made the slightest effort to see the delegates, in fact I had not even had a glimpse of them. He said he knew this too. I then told him that it went against the grain to give any undertaking and I would refuse to do so although I had no intention of going anywhere near the Afghans. He said that he could well appreciate my scruples but after all it was a small matter; nobody would know; some persons had already given the undertaking etc. He also said that he was merely an agent and had to carry out the orders of Government. He strongly advised me to agree to an undertaking. I asked him if I had to give a definite answer then and there or if he could give me some time. He answered that I could send an answer by this evening. I also asked him what would happen if I refused to give any undertaking. He said that he would then have to carry out the orders of Government, and extern me. And so we parted with mutual apologies.

I had no doubt in my mind then or later as to what my answer should be. It would have been counter to all my principles and professions to give any undertaking. I feel sure you will agree with and approve of my attitude. I am glad to say that the members of the family thought it the only possible attitude under the circumstances.

This evening I sent my answer to the Superintendent. A copy of this is enclosed. No reply has come yet.

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. District Magistrate, Dehra Dun.

I suppose it is certain now that they will serve an order on me externing me from Mussoorie. I may be given 24 hours' time or perhaps 48. In that event I shall wire to you and inform you of my movements. I shall probably go to Allahabad direct and after a day's stay there I should like to come to Arrah to see you. Or if you prefer, and wire to me in time, I shall go straight to Arrah.

I wish I had known a week ago of what was going to happen. I could have made my arrangements accordingly and not have taken matters in a leisurely fashion. However, I shall do my best and if our benign Government could give me another 3 days here I would be almost content.

Kamala[3] is progressing satisfactorily. If a nurse could come I would have no anxiety left. As it is I shall leave full and detailed directions for her treatment etc.

I have arranged for Betty to go to Hampton Court School from Monday next. The school is a good one and has a very good record in examinations. It is situated a little under Fitche's shop.[4]

For the rest there is little to be done. We have been living a very quiet life here and I suppose this will continue after I go down. Mother has enough money for current expenses. She cannot of course pay the hotel bill. This will probably come at the end of the month and some arrangement will have to be made about it.

With love,

Your loving son
Jawahar

3. Kamala Nehru (1899-1936); b. Kamala Kaul, and married to Jawaharlal Nehru in February 1916, she took an active part in the national movement and in 1930 was for some time a member of the Congress Working Committee and the "dictator" of Allahabad. She was arrested on 1 January 1931 and released along with other Congress leaders at the end of the month. For many years she suffered from poor health and died in Switzerland in February 1936.
4. A general merchandise shop in Mussoorie.

24. To Mr. M. L. Oakes[1]

Mussoorie
May 14, 1920

Dear Mr. Oakes,

I have carefully thought over the conversation we had this morning and the question of my giving a "Positive undertaking", as required by Government, not to see or have any communication with the Afghan delegates now at Mussoorie. I regret I am unable to change my opinion on the subject.

As you are aware, I came to Mussoorie with my mother, wife and sisters solely on account of my wife's ill health. It was my intention to stay here with my family till such time as my father was free to come up. I have no concern with the Afghan delegation and it was an accident that we both happened to be in the same hotel. As a matter of fact their presence here has put me out to a certain extent as I was looking forward to taking possession of the rooms at present occupied by them. I am of course interested in the delegation, as every intelligent person must be, but I had or have not the slightest intention of going out of my way to meet them. We have been here now for the last seventeen days and during this period I have not seen a single member of the delegation even from a distance. You are yourself aware of this fact as you told me this morning.

But, although I have no intention whatever of seeing the Afghans or having any communication with them, I utterly dislike the idea of binding myself down to any course of action at the instance of the Government, even though such action may not prove irksome. It is really a question of principle or conscience. You will, I feel sure, appreciate my position. I am therefore unable, I am sorry to say, to accept your courteous advice and give an undertaking to Government.

If the Government chooses to serve any order on me, I am, for the present, prepared to obey it. It will be a great inconvenience to me to have to go down suddenly and leave my family by themselves here. The condition of my wife's health requires the most careful attention and my mother is a confirmed invalid, and it is most difficult to leave them uncared for. My sudden departure will upset my father's and my plans entirely and cause us any amount of trouble and anxiety. But I suppose individual conveniences cannot be considered in high matters of state.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
First published in A *Bunch of Old Letters* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1958), pp. 7-8.

25. To C. F. Adams[1]

Savoy Hotel,
Mussoorie
May 15, 1920

Dear Mr. Adams,

I have again fully considered the matter and I regret that I am unable to give the undertaking required by Government. Under the circumstances I am prepared to go down from Mussoorie if the Government orders me to do so. I was at first inclined to accept your suggestion and go down of my own accord without any written order from Government, but on further consideration, I do not think it will be right for me to do so. I shall, therefore await the formal notice.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
First published in *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 9.

26. The U.P. Congress Committee and Noncooperation[1]

Sir, — The resolutions passed by the U.P. Congress Committee at its last meeting have apparently perturbed a number of gentlemen who have sought to show, by means of lengthy communications to the press, that these resolutions are utterly futile and contemptible. Reference has further been made to certain details of the proceedings which were not published in the official report. As these veiled allusions may create a false impression of what transpired, I crave your courtesy to give fuller account of the proceedings. I trust I shall not thereby betray the confidence of the members of the Committee.

The first resolution, dealing with the insufficiency of the old methods of agitation and supporting the principle of noncooperation, was discussed for a considerable time. Several amendments were moved, but eventually the resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority — not more than two or perhaps three members voting against it.

The second resolution, dealing with the steps in the first stage of noncooperation, was originally moved as an amendment. As moved, it contained a clause about the boycott of councils. It further advocated the suspension of practice by lawyers and the withdrawal of

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Leader*, 4 September 1920.

students from Government schools and colleges. There was no mention in it of the boycott of British goods. Two or three amendments were also moved and there was a prolonged discussion. Eventually the clauses relating to the suspension of practice by lawyers and the withdrawal of students from Government institutions were altered by the supporters of the principal amendment in order to meet the wishes of many members present. The amendment as it then stood, with the exception of one clause, was acceptable to almost everyone. This clause was the one which dealt with the boycott of councils. I suggested that this clause should be separated from the other clauses and the more or less non-controversial part of the amendment be separately voted on. This was agreed to. A member then suggested that a clause recommending boycott of British goods be added and as the majority of members approved of it, a clause to this effect was added. The amendment, as altered, was then put to the vote and passed with only one or two dissenters.

The question of boycotting the councils was then considered. Three courses of action were urged before the Committee: (1) that people should not stand for election or vote; (2) that people should offer themselves for election, and having succeeded in getting elected, should not enter the council chamber, after the manner of Sinn Feiners; and (3) that people should enter the councils with the sole object of obstructing work and making the position of Government impossible. No one, so far as I can remember, suggested that we should cooperate with the Government inside the councils. I made it clear to the Committee what the principal supporters of the clause understood by the phrase 'boycott of the councils'. To them it meant neither of the first two courses mentioned above. The one thing it did not or could not mean was going inside the councils for the purpose of either obstruction or cooperation. I expressed my own preference for the boycotting of even the elections, but the resolution as framed admitted of utilizing the machinery of elections and then boycotting the councils. The real question of principle, to my mind, was that we should not enter the councils and take the oath of allegiance. The rest was a matter of tactics. We offered to change the word 'boycott' to 'non-participation' provided our meaning, as above explained, was clearly brought out. The proposed change was not enough to satisfy some members and we, therefore, decided to retain 'boycott' which is a more virile word and meant an active policy. The resolution was then put to the vote and passed, I think by a majority of two.

It has been said that the meeting of the Committee was unrepresentative and was attended by irresponsible persons. Some of our prominent members were undoubtedly absent. We sorely missed the counsel

and guidance of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pandit Motilal Nehru. Munshi Iswar Saran and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra[2] were also not present. But of the many meetings of the Provincial Congress Committee, which it has been my privilege to attend, I have not often seen a better or more representative gathering. Perhaps I am a poor judge and take a partisan view. Being myself not too much endowed with the element of 'responsibility' I do not miss it greatly in others of my kind.

I shall not endeavour to say anything here on the merits of the resolutions. Personally, I wish they had gone much further on the lines laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. I am an ardent believer in noncooperation with all that it implies and I am firmly convinced that noncooperation and no other course will bring us victory. That victory may not come in a day or a year, but come it will and must, *ruat coelum*.[3]

I am etc.,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. (1872-1929); a leading lawyer of Lucknow, who was the General Secretary of Congress in 1918-1920. Later he joined the Liberals and served as Judge of the Oudh Chief Court.
3. Even though the heavens fall.

27. The Swaraj Sabha—Facts about Changes in the Constitution of the All-India Home Rule League[1]

Sir, — As the validity of the recent changes in the constitution of the Swaraj Sabha (till lately the All-India Home Rule League) has been questioned by some gentlemen, may I crave the hospitality of your columns to state the facts relating to these changes?

According to the rules of the All-India Home Rule League, the Central Council of the League could, by a majority of three-fourths, make alterations in the constitution. This constitution was adopted in Calcutta in December, 1917. The general body of the members, with whom the ultimate decision lay, delegated their undoubted power to change the constitution to the Central Council, but restricted its use by that Council to such cases only where there was a three-fourth majority.

1. Letter to The Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle*, 18 October 1920.

The members of the League did not and could not thereby abdicate all authority over the constitution of the League. Nor had the three-fourth majority any reference to them. This constitution was subsequently altered and the changes were recorded in the minute book. They were not printed and the minute book was lost during a fire which occurred at the office of the Bombay Branch of the League. We have thus unfortunately no authentic record of the latest constitution and have to fall back upon the Calcutta constitution. So far as I remember, however, the rule about the change in the constitution had remained unchanged.

A meeting of the Central Council of the League was held in Bombay on the 28th July last. Among the items on the agenda was the revision of the constitution. The Council considered this and appointed a sub-committee consisting of Mr. M. A. Jinnah[2], Mr. M. R. Jayakar[3] and the General Secretaries to draw up a draft constitution. The Council further directed that a general meeting of the members of the League be held in Calcutta, about the time the Congress held its special sessions, for the express purpose of considering the report of the sub-committee and of revising the constitution. This general meeting was convened for the 4th September and the only item on the agenda was the revision of the constitution. Unfortunately, the sub-committee appointed to revise the constitution could not meet prior to the general meeting. As one of the Secretaries, however, I circulated a draft constitution amongst the members of the sub-committee a few days before the meeting. The general meeting was held in Calcutta on the 4th September and this draft was considered. The name of the League was altered and the objects were changed. Mr. Jinnah was not present at the meeting. At a subsequent adjourned meeting held in Calcutta Mr. Jinnah was present and he raised a number of objections. The President, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, over-ruled his objections and held that the meeting was properly constituted and was fully competent to change the constitution. He further held that the changes in the name and the objects were perfectly valid. The rest of the constitution could not be considered by the meeting owing to lack of time. Mr. M. A. Jinnah

2. Mohamed Ali Jinnah (1876-1948); a barrister of the Bombay High Court; president of the Moslem League 1916, 1920 and from 1934 to his death; Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-1948. For many years Jinnah was an ardent nationalist free from communalism, but later became the champion of Muslim separatism, and successfully demanded the creation of Pakistan.
3. (1873-1959); a barrister and judge, and, along with Tej Bahadur Sapru, the best-known of the Indian Liberal leaders.

suggested that it would be desirable if the whole constitution was referred back to the sub-committee previously appointed and the sub-committee's report was considered at another general meeting of the members to be held in Bombay, when the necessary changes in the constitution could be made. Mr. Jinnah's suggestion was eventually adopted. The sub-committee considered the matter and submitted a report which was unanimous except for the proposed change in the objects. This report was published in some newspapers and was considered at the general meeting of the members held on the 3rd October in Bombay. After prolonged discussion the objects, as recommended by a majority of the sub-committee, were adopted by a two-thirds majority.

In the course of this discussion and after, two objections were raised by Mr. Jinnah. He first repeated his objection, taken and over-ruled in Calcutta, that the general body of members had no power to change the constitution and that only the Central Council could do so. Apart from the merits of this point, I may mention that the Central Council itself had referred the matter to the general meeting in Calcutta. I may also draw attention to the fact that the subsequent general meeting called in Bombay was held at Mr. Jinnah's own suggestion for the express purpose of revising the constitution. But, in any event, the general body of the members of the League is the paramount authority in all matters concerning the League and its constitution and it could not divest itself of that authority by delegating its power, in a restricted form, to the Central Council. The second objection raised was with reference to the size of the majority. It was stated that there must be a three-fourths majority for any change in the existing constitution. The rule about a three-fourths majority applied only to the Central Council and there was no warrant for applying it to the general meeting. Even a bare majority of members, the President held, was sufficient. As a matter of fact, there was a very substantial majority.

Yours etc.,
Jawaharlal Nehru
Joint General Secretary
Swaraj Sabha.

Allahabad,
Oct. 14.

28. Notice to Volunteers[1]

All volunteers are requested to attend at the Swaraj Sabha Office, (3 City Road, Allahabad) on Sunday 14th November at 3.30 p.m. when there will be company drill and instructions will be issued.

Volunteers who have so far not been enrolled in any of the College squads should also attend at the Swaraj Sabha Office on Saturday the 13th November at 3.30 p.m.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

1. *The Independent*, 14 November 1920.

29. To Syed Mahmud[1]

Allahabad
Apr. 9th 1921

My dear Doctor[2],

You must be wondering why I am so churlish as not to acknowledge your gift to me. The gift was very welcome but the inscription on it offended against my modesty and hence the delay in thanking you. I am not aware of having been accused of brilliance on any previous occasion. You will thus understand my discomfiture.

So the final tussle has come. What is Behar going to do? Behar, the darling of our leaders. I am afraid all we can do is to try to carry on. The conditions of the experiment are such that it is exceedingly difficult for the U.P. to fulfil them.

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Syed Mahmud Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Syed Mahmud (1889-1971); a contemporary of Jawaharlal at Cambridge and a barrister of the Patna High Court; joined noncooperation movement in 1921; General Secretary, Khilafat movement and Indian National Congress; Minister in Bihar, 1937-1939 and 1946-1952; Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi 1954-1957.

30. On the Allahabad District Conference[1]

Sir,—Syt. Triveni Sahai Sinha[2] has done me the honour of putting some questions to me in your issue of the 21st April. He has evidently been considerably put out by my appeal for volunteers for the Allahabad district conference. In this appeal I had stated that students who were still in Government schools or colleges need not apply and I had further announced that all volunteers would be expected to wear pure swadeshi (*garha*) clothes. Syt. Sinha has scented villainy in this simple appeal and it has reminded him of the German hymn of hate. But I can assure him that I had not the remotest intention of offering a 'wanton and gratuitous insult' to anyone even though he may be misguided enough to remain in educational institutions controlled by the Government. Syt. Sinha has apparently missed some of Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and writings or else he could have spared himself the trouble of writing to the press. I shall only give him one reference : *Young India* dated 23rd February, 1921, column 1, page 1, — in the course of an editorial note on lawyers and students, Mahatmaji says:—'Volunteering is a privilege and a student who has not been able to withdraw from Government schools cannot receive privileges from the nation. They too must be content to be unambitious servants of the nation.'

I shall answer the questions framed by Syt. Sinha briefly :—

(1) Every person who has signed the Congress creed and joined the Congress organisation will be entitled to become a delegate to the conference. All others can become visitors on payment of the requisite fees. Cooperators and officials will be welcome in either of the above categories.

(2) (3) and (4). I have already referred to Mahatmaji's views on the subject. The All-India Congress Committee has not, so far as I am aware, pronounced any opinion.

(5) Syt. Sinha has done himself an injustice by using words in a foreign language of which he does not understand the full import.

1. *The Leader*, 25 April 1921.
2. At this time a student at D.A.V. College, Kanpur. A letter written in his name had attacked the noncooperation and volunteer movements.

I presume he means to enquire whether social service is a monopoly of noncooperators. I hasten to assure him that the service of the nation, political or social, is the monopoly of no individual or party. It is the bounden duty of every person and he may not postpone the performance of this duty for any personal motive. Unhappily, many of our friends appear to put examinations and college studies above the performance of this duty. We have ventured to appeal to them to put aside these studies for a while at least and devote themselves to the service of the nation. Duty calls today from the villages and fields of Partabgarh and Sultanpur and Rae Bareli and Fyzabad — the four districts where to preserve law and order the Seditious Meetings Act has been proclaimed with the concurrence of our ministers, where to preserve law and order thousands are being harassed and put to indignity and hundreds are in jail, where terrorism reigns and no man is safe; where to be a *Panch* has become a crime and to settle disputes privately a sin. The kisans of these regions are going through an ordeal of suffering such as few outsiders realise; but by God's help they are bearing up. That is where duty calls. Many of our colleagues are there sharing the burdens of the kisans and bringing some solace to them. They too were carrying on their studies in government colleges not so long ago. But they discarded the lordly buildings, gave up their worldly prospects and made the peasant's hut their home. They tramp in the hot sun, bear with a smiling face the indignities and abuse heaped upon them by the minions of the law and carry a ray of hope into many a despairing home. This service is the monopoly of no man. All who wish it can enter it.

But if the flesh is weak and the conditions appear hard, then there is one service which all can do — the turning of the spinning wheel. And if Syt. Sinha desires to perform this sovereign service, I shall gladly present him with a *charkha*.

(6) I don't know if Syt. Sinha requires an answer to this question. I fancy not..

Jawaharlal Nehru

31. Telegram to Mahatma Gandhi[1]

Allahabad
9 May 1921

Das wires from Chandpur impossible leaving. Chandpur situation[2] critical having important bearing on all India movement. Case of general noncooperation and not labour strike. Matter not settling soon. Must be placed before working committee meeting. Pray adjourn or hold another committee meeting about twentyfirst June Calcutta. If meeting working committee inconvenient have small sub committee appointed to meet Calcutta. Pray no big question should be settled in ignorance of situation here. Have important proposals to make. Father unwell in Almora. Unable to go Bombay.

Jawaharlal

1. Gandhi-Nehru Correspondence. Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Serial No. 7521 (ii).
2. In 1919, a very large number of agricultural labourers from Gorakhpur and other districts of eastern U.P. had migrated to the tea gardens of Lower Assam due to scarcity conditions in their own districts. However, the employment situation in the tea gardens deteriorated with the depression immediately after the First World War, and many retrenched workers began to return home in 1921. So by May 1921 they were to be found in large numbers at Chandpur, a transit point near the borders of Assam. The plantation owners, worried by this great exodus, sought to enlist both official and non-official assistance to prevent this large-scale migration. Das, Andrews and other leaders, who had gone to Chandpur to help the workers, were accused of instigating labour strikes. The local authorities tried to prevent these labourers from leaving Assam and even ordered troops to prevent them from boarding the steamers.

32. Telegram to Mahatma Gandhi[1]

Allahabad
17 May 1921

Chittaranjandas wires coolie difficulty[2] matter of finance. Provincial congress committee ruled Tilak fund cant be spent for this. Wire advice Calcutta. Have accordingly wired Bengal committee suggesting advance necessary funds subject to working committees decision about allocation. Wire further instructions if necessary.

Nehru

1. Gandhi-Nehru Correspondence, Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Serial No. 7524.
2. In 1921 the tea-planters effected a further reduction of wages.

33. The Kopaganj Affair

I[1]

A somewhat fanciful account of my visit to Kopaganj has appeared in the press. The account is incorrect in many particulars.[2]

Maulana Shaukat Ali and I arrived in Azamgarh on the 19th. It was our intention to motor to Kopaganj, a distance of 28 miles, early in the morning of the 20th and to spend the best part of the day there, catching the Ballia train in the afternoon. On the evening of the 20th there was to be a public meeting at Ballia and on the 21st we were to be in Yusufpur and Ghazipur. We requested the local bodies at Azamgarh to arrange for a car for the Kopaganj visit. They failed in their endeavour. I then suggested carriages and eventually *ekkas* to take us to Kopaganj early in the morning. We were very anxious to go and the only way of doing so, without upsetting our Ballia and Ghazipur programme, was to precede the railway train and go by road. Maulana Shaukat Ali was fasting and a 28 mile road journey in the heat of the sun would have been a great trial to him. He agreed readily, however, to go by road if a suitable vehicle was found. No conveyance of any kind was forthcoming and consequently we took the Ballia train at 10.30 a.m. At 12.30 we arrived at Mau. I again expressed a desire to go to Kopaganj, if it could possibly be arranged. The train makes a lengthy stay at Mau and I had 3½ hours. An *ekka* was found. It was physically impossible for Maulana Shaukat Ali to go by the *ekka*. I therefore proceeded to Kopaganj with a Hindu friend, a resident of Mau. On arrival at Kopaganj I expressed a desire to see the girl in question. I was taken to her and I had half an hour's talk with her. My Hindu friend was with me as well as two or three Mohamedan gentlemen. There were many other people outside the room. I was sitting inside. After my conversation with the girl I saw the boy, who is said to have abducted her, and had a short talk with him. I then came out and addressed a few words to a small crowd which had assembled outside. After this, I left Kopaganj on my *ekka* for Indara, the next station after Mau. There was no proper road and we had practically to go across the fields. There being very little time left and the rate of the *ekka's* progress being excessively moderate, I tried to run for a considerable part of the way. In spite of my exertions, however, I missed the train

1. Statement published in *The Leader*, 28 May 1921.
2. The Kopaganj affair centred round the alleged abduction of a Bengali Hindu widow, her conversion to Islam and her marriage to a Muslim.

at Indara. I do not presume to have performed a miracle by my visit to Kopaganj nor could I possibly hold a regular enquiry even if I wished to do so in the short time at my disposal. I went there mainly to see the girl and to try to find out what her present feelings were. She told me definitely and repeatedly that she wished to remain in her present abode. She refused to go back to her old home even though her people might be willing to take her back. I may add that she is in an advanced state of pregnancy.

The boy who accompanied her from Calcutta appears to be younger than the girl. He looks 16 to 17 years of age and is a very unintelligent country yokel.

II[3]

Sir,—May I, by your courtesy, deal briefly with one or two points raised by the communication on the Kopaganj affair which appears in your issue of today? Of much that the letter contains I have no personal knowledge. I have read Prof. Ram Gaur's[4] article in *The Independent* of the 19th May, but beyond that I know nothing about his visit. I have not seen him or discussed the matter with him. Regarding my visit to Kopaganj I have already sent a note to *The Independent* and you have been good enough to reproduce it in your issue of the 28th. I have little to add to this and it is really not very material as to what I did and how I did it when I went to Kopaganj. I would not have troubled you on the subject if I did not feel that an injustice had been done to Maulana Shaukat Ali by your correspondent. The Maulana never 'changed his mind and refused to go to Kopaganj,' nor did he express his inability as a Muslim to do anything in the matter, in the manner suggested. He and I had gone there at Mr. Gandhi's suggestion and we were anxious to visit Kopaganj. I have already stated in my previous letter how our arrangements fell through and eventually I had to go from Mau on an *ekka* in the middle of the day. Anyone who knows the Maulana needs no telling that it was hardly possible for him to mount the *ekka* or to ride it for any distance. His stopping at Mau would have necessitated his giving up his Ballia and Ghazipur programme.

The statement attributed to Maulana Shaukat Ali is partly correct, so far as I remember, but it conveys a different impression from what was actually said and meant. He said that it was really for the girl to

3. Letter to the Editor, *The Leader*, 8 June 1921.
4. A Congressman from Banaras, deputed by the Congress to investigate this affair. He reported that the girl had willingly married the Muslim and been converted to Islam.

decide what to do, that it appeared from Prof. Gaur's statement that she had made up her mind to remain where she was and that under the circumstances nothing further could be done. If the girl did not wish to go, he could not tell her to do so, nor could he as a Muslim induce her to leave Islam.

Your correspondent evidently feels deeply on the question. He has written his long letter to you in some anger and has said many hard things about me and a number of others. Whether I have a 'perverse mentality' or not, I do not know. I am naturally a partial judge. It is my misfortune that I could not stay long enough at Kopaganj. I tried to utilise my short stay to the best advantage and formed certain impressions. A longer enquiry may confirm these first impressions or alter them. I do not claim any finality for them, but for the present I believe in them.

Your correspondent has analysed my previous letter as if he was construing the pleadings in a case. He draws inferences from my silence on a particular point or from my not contradicting it specifically. I did not write the previous letter, nor am I writing the present one, in this spirit. There are several matters mentioned in your correspondent's letter which are not accurate but I have not thought it worth while to deal with them. They are details which make no difference unless, of course, the object is to discredit a party!

I have read your correspondent's long letter with considerable pain, not because of the personal references made to me—for they matter not at all and I am sure the writer himself will not approve of them in his cooler moments—but because I feel that this is not the right method to gain one's object. He and I perhaps desire the same thing. May I, in all humility, suggest to him that the cause which we have at heart will not be furthered by personal recriminations?

I am etc.,

June, 5. Jawaharlal Nehru

III[5]

Sir,—In the course of a letter appearing in your issue of the 9th April, Mr. Ganga Prasad has referred to Maulana Shaukat Ali refusing to accompany me to Kopaganj. This is wholly incorrect. A similar statement appeared in your columns at the time of our visit two years ago and was categorically denied by me in the course of a letter to you. I am pained to see a repetition of a statement which I have clearly stated to be untrue, specially when the object of the criticism, the brave and chivalrous Shaukat Ali, lies in a British jail.

Allahabad, April 10. Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Letter to the Editor, *The Leader*, 14 April 1923.

34. Presidential address at the Bundhelkhand Conference[1]

Revered Jagat Guru[2], brothers and sisters :—

Eight months ago, the largest panchayat of our country, i.e. the Indian National Congress, had decided that without Swaraj we cannot live in India. The big leaders of our country unitedly waved the flag of Swaraj at first in Calcutta. Taking into consideration the hardships and sufferings that we are or have been put to in this country, and the ways in which our country is impoverished and we are humbled, so much so that we cannot save our lives and religions, our leaders have decided that there is no remedy for these evils, except that of winning Swaraj.

Brothers — it was so decided eight months ago. It was decided because we have been awakened to the situation at length and our leaders have clearly demonstrated that to live in this country means to live in utter slavery, to lead the life of beasts and to denounce our faith and religion. This means that Indians, living in India itself, will crawl on their bellies and will rub their noses against the ground, will be humbled and will give up their faith and religion as we were made to do in Amritsar[3].

Brothers — it was decided in Calcutta[4] that we will get justice done to the wrongs of the Punjab and the Khilafat and will attain Swaraj.

Afterwards our leaders considered the question again at Nagpur[5] and, with the exception of two men, a gathering of twenty thousand decided that Swaraj, and only Swaraj, is the remedy for these evils. These evils cannot be removed without Swaraj. Our leaders made a promise that we would get Swaraj. As long as we do not get Swaraj, we will not

1. Government of India, Home (Political), F. No. 112 of 1922, National Archives of India.
The only report available of this address, delivered in Hindi, is the English version prepared by police reporters for the Criminal Investigation Department. It is that report which is reproduced here, but it is probably distorted in places. The address was delivered at the second session at Jhansi on 13 June 1921.
2. Swami Shankaracharya of Puri.
3. The reference is to the Crawling Order.
4. The Special Session of the Congress which met at Calcutta from 4 to 9 September 1920 was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai. It approved the policy of noncooperation.
5. The 35th Session in December 1920, which was a personal triumph for Mahatma Gandhi.

cease to agitate. We will neither have rest nor will we allow others, who stand in the way of our Swaraj, to rest. Five months have passed and the sixth month is passing since our leaders voted for this at Nagpur. You remember that in the beginning, when the Congress decided this matter in Calcutta, our enemies were laughing at us and were thinking that we were only boasting. They knew that Indians indulge in tall talk, and have not got it in them to do practical work. Therefore they were laughing at us and ridiculing us. Even our friends who sympathize with our cause were afraid that we were only talking of impossibilities. But in a very short time India underwent a transformation. Today neither our friends nor our enemies are laughing at us. They can say that we shall not be able to achieve as much as we desire but there is no official, from the highest to the lowest rank in India, not even the Viceroy, who can laugh at us or put us to ridicule. They have seen that modern India is now determined on one thing and to reach only one goal, the goal of Swaraj. The new generation of India has resolved to shake off the slavery that she has been undergoing for a hundred and fifty years, I mean the slavery to the British nation and the British Government.

I do not want here to describe the stories of the Punjab and the Khilafat, for which we preached noncooperation and raised the flag of Swaraj. You know these events. These have been related a thousand times to you. You know that in the beginning much emphasis was laid on the Khilafat and the Punjab. You also know that now the country has come to the decision that the wrongs of the Khilafat and the Punjab can only be settled by winning Swaraj. If the Khilafat questions are settled without your obtaining Swaraj, then it would not be a settlement of your Khilafat questions. If the matters in the Punjab are decided according to your desire, but you do not go any further, you should not be satisfied. If today you terrify them to rectify the matters in the Punjab, but you do not get the real power, they would be left with the power to do the same thing that they did in the Punjab two years ago. Perhaps they might repeat the same thing in Bundhelkhand. Therefore, the settlement of the Punjab and the Khilafat question can only be arrived at through obtaining such powers by us, Indians, that no foreign country in future would be able to commit excesses against us. No foreign nation should possess the capacity to oppress us or attack our honour and religion. Therefore, you should always keep Swaraj before you. You should know that Swaraj embodies the Khilafat and the Punjab. If you cannot win Swaraj you cannot be said to have attained anything. For this reason we are laying much emphasis on Swaraj. As long as we do not get Swaraj, we should continue our struggle.

I have told you that I do not want to say anything about the Punjab and the Khilafat, but now I will say one thing to our Hindu brethren, that the question of the Khilafat does not concern the Muslims only. Therefore, as you know, the Hindus are helping the cause of the Khilafat. This is why Mahatma Gandhi has become the leader of the movement and is helping this cause. He has said that if need be he is ready to give his life in the settlement of this question. Therefore, I wish that my Hindu brethren should not entertain the idea that it is not their duty or religion to help the Mussalmans at this time. I do not want to lay any emphasis on this. The Hindu religion itself will compel them to do so, will compel them to help their neighbours. Those who know religion will consider it their duty, as I have heard our respected religious leader say, that they should always speak truth and help their brethren who are in trouble. I shall not say more about this; I only want to say that it is the duty of the Hindus to help the Muslims at this time if they want to save their religion. Because if the English succeeded in destroying the Muslim religion, they will try to destroy your religion, our religion, the Hindu religion. Therefore, it is the duty of the Hindus, if they want to defend their religion, to enlist with their whole heart and soul in this struggle for the Khilafat, to help the Mohammadans and to defend their religion. You know the English. They love neither the Hindus nor Muslims nor any creed or religion. What is dear to them is something else. They will not, therefore, let you, the Hindus off in any way. It would be quite a different thing if they are not on good terms with the Mussalmans.

A remarkable thing has happened in connection with the Khilafat question. The Turks were not independent until Mustafa Kamal Pasha[6], a great leader, refused to accept the Anglo-Turkish treaty[7] and taking a large portion of Turkey into his possession became an independent ruler. The Turks were independent and free from the interference of the British or any other power. The English, seeing them independent, are now trying to attack them. They are attacking and destroying all the countries one by one. They have made up their minds to destroy these kingdoms, to destroy these Mussalman kingdoms, to destroy all the large and small Mussalman kingdoms in Asia. They wish that there should be only three or four large territories, which they should divide among themselves.

6. Kamal Pasha Ataturk (1881-1938); leader and founder of modern Turkey.
7. The treaty of Sevres concluded with Turkey in 1920 provided for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The terms of the treaty caused great resentment in Turkey and subsequently, as a result of the resistance led by Kamal Pasha, a new and milder settlement had to be made by the Treaty of Lausanne.

Brothers, you must remember that if the English are successful, they will make slaves of all the countries in our neighbourhood and will fetter them with a powerful chain, so much so that we will be tightly held while they ride on our backs and it will be very difficult to get rid of them.

This struggle is for the Khilafat. This struggle is for the independence of our country. This struggle is for our own liberty and the liberty of those countries that are in our neighbourhood.

I have told you that the questions of the Khilafat and the Punjab are included in Swaraj. Therefore, you should always keep Swaraj before you. You should always keep in view our own liberty. You should know that as long as our country is not free and we do not take part in the Government of our own country, we should not give up the struggle. Swaraj means peace in these days. Perhaps you did not think over the question of Swaraj. I want to let you know what I mean by Swaraj.

You know the literal meaning of Swaraj is self-government. But there are various kinds of self-government. There can also be a self-government where three or four men of the country are made Rajas and Maharajas to rule over others. But I do not want such a kind of self-government, where three or four Indians or Englishmen are made our rulers to oppress us. In my opinion, in self-government, not one Indian or a thousand Indians should be made a raja or rajas, but every Indian, every Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh or Christian, who lives in India and who is proud of calling it his motherland should be free and should have a right to take part in the government of the country. This I consider to be self-government. What does it mean? You should think over it. It does not mean the government of one sect or one religion. If the Hindus establish their rule in the country, it would be a Hindu *raj*. That will not be self-government. If Muslims are able to establish their rule, that will not be self-government. That would be Muslim *raj*. Suppose the Sikhs establish their rule in the Punjab, that would be Sikh *raj* but not Swaraj. Therefore, you should understand clearly that the Swaraj that I seek is the *raj* of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs etc. That cannot be the *raj* of one sect, one creed or one religion. It will not be a *raj* of the rich or of the poor, of the farmers or of the zamindars. The rich and poor will have equal rights. That is Swaraj.

In a Swaraj there can be only panchayats, therefore, Swaraj means panchayat. Panchayat Raj had been prevalent in our country for thousands of years. During the short time since the English began to rule India, these panchayats were abolished one by one. Now when the non-cooperation agitation began, these panchayats again came into existence. They will be similar to those established by the Government in tahsils,

districts and provinces. Do you think the rule of the Government can be as beneficent as that of your *panchayats*, for the latter will consist of men chosen by yourself, by the rich and the poor of the country? These men will be under your control. If they do not work properly, they can be set aside and others can be made *Panch* in their places. I know such a form of government will come. As long as there is not such a *raj* in our country our troubles cannot be removed. With two or three men of our country raised to high offices our troubles cannot come to an end. Now one man of our province is a high official. He gets a good salary but he could not remove our troubles. In spite of a number of high officers in our country being Indians the people of our province are being put to such troubles and miseries and are oppressed in such ways as they had not experienced for a number of years. There are some Indians who were working with us, were taking part in the Congress and were helping us in every way, but, I am sorry to say, now they have leagued themselves with the other party. They have leagued themselves with those who are our enemies. Brothers, we cannot gain anything if you are given high posts under this Government. If we are made Governors, even then it cannot be called Swaraj; nor would our troubles be removed. In the province next to ours, i.e. in Bihar, there is an Indian Governor[8] but the lot of the province is not improved by his becoming a Governor, it has rather become worse. The people are put to more hardships than before.

The meaning of Swaraj is what I told you just now. I want that kind of Swaraj. In my opinion, only that is Swaraj. Our elders know this and the Congress is trying to get this kind of Swaraj. They have resolved to get this kind of Swaraj. You should know that there can be no real understanding between us and the British Government, between us and any other nation. In my opinion, we should continue the agitation of noncooperation as long as we do not get Swaraj or do not become perfect masters of this country. The leaders of our country have indicated the way to Swaraj. You know that other countries had waged wars to get their independence, you also know that some nations had to unsheathe their swords to get their independence. They have killed others and have been killed by others to win the independence of their country. You also know men in this country who drew their swords for their country and their religion and have

8. Lord Sinha of Raipur (1864-1928); after having served as President of the Congress, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Under-Secretary for India in the British Government, he was appointed Governor of Bihar in 1920. He resigned the next year due to ill-health.

killed others and have been killed by others. They can be called neither wicked men nor cowards. Though it is possible that some men may say that they were not good, none can say that they were not brave. But the present condition of our country is such that the people have not even touched a sword for a long time. You have not as much as seen any weapon. You have become incapacitated. How can you fight and how can you get your independence? In these days men fight with guns. Even if you had swords, you could not have done anything; even if you could manipulate guns, you would not have been successful. In modern warfare, bombs are thrown from airships. If you have swords and guns they are useless. Thousands of you can be killed by one bomb. Therefore, we cannot fight with the English in any way. If I fight the English with a sword, then I think I would be defeated. Besides this, Mahatma Gandhi, who is our leader at this time, is of the opinion that we should not draw swords under any circumstances. He is of the opinion that we should always follow non-violence. It is our duty, therefore, to follow non-violence. There is no other course open to us. If we follow any other course the independence of our country would be very far from us. We should, therefore, keep away from the sword and give up the intention of drawing it. The other course has been shown to us by our leaders and Congressmen. That is the course of noncooperation.

It is such a course that, if we follow it, we can win our country's independence and can remove our troubles in a very short time without killing anybody and doing any violence or sin, and at the same time following what is right and preserving what is our faith. Much has been said about noncooperation. You have been told clearly what are the principles of noncooperation. There are some men who ask what should be done for noncooperation and what they should do for it now and in the future. In future will come a time when we will ask the men of the Police and the Army to give up their services, when I will ask every Indian to stop paying taxes to this British Government. It is possible that the occasion may come; but I think it will never come. Before such a time comes, we shall be successful in our mission and will get Swaraj. Those who have taken up the cause of noncooperation and Swaraj have not taken it up with the intention of retracing four steps back while they advance two steps forward. They have made up their minds to move forward as long as they do not reach their goal. We should be ready and should make the country prepared to follow it to the last stage. The last stage is very far away. The other stages are short and easy. I do not want to repeat these stages of noncooperation, nor do I want to say anything about vakils and students. It is not necessary to say anything about vakils and students. We have said

whatever we had to say about them and they have heard whatever they had to hear. But I want to lay emphasis on two points in particular, which, in my opinion, form the roots of noncooperation because without them noncooperation cannot progress; because if you do not do those things, whatever else you may do about noncooperation will be useless and of no purpose. You know there is a word which has always been used with noncooperation, we used the word 'peaceful' or non-violent. That is noncooperation of which the foundation is laid on peace. If there is anybody who unsheathes his sword to save his country or his religion, you cannot call him a coward. You praise him, though he may draw the sword through his own folly. But I want to say that the two cannot go together. It is possible that on the one hand you draw your sword and on the other you follow noncooperation. If you are a noncooperator, if you want to tread its course, you must always bear in mind as long as you are a noncooperator that noncooperation is based on non-violence. Where there is an end of non-violence, there is an end of noncooperation.

I would like to lay stress on this point. I want to explain the thing and to bring home to you its importance. For I have found some time back at many places that it was not being sufficiently emphasized. People have been led to think that the cry of peacefulness and non-violence is merely intended to deceive others, while we are preparing ourselves for the contrary behind the curtain. The first thing which we ought to know is that a noncooperator will never act in an underhand way. Whatever is contained in his heart will come out in the midst of thousands. He will do what he has to do in a straightforward manner, he would do nothing stealthily in corners. It is the creed, as it were, of a noncooperator to believe that truth need not be concealed. He will speak out everything with a free heart. If there comes a time to adopt a course I would not do so in a secret way but I would declare my intention beforehand. I want you to bear in mind that you are under no circumstances permitted to commit excesses in the course of your noncooperation. An excess may be verbal or it may relate to physical force, but you are allowed to practise neither.

You know that in this province particularly and also in other parts of the homeland a movement has been started which you call by the name of *Aman Sabha*[9] or *Ghulam Sabha*.[10] This is a recent movement. The

9. In 1921, to counter the influence of the Congress and the Kisan Sabhas among the peasants, the United Provinces Government organised *Aman Sabhas*, whose members were mostly landlords and supporters of the *raj*. Their purpose was to carry on propaganda in the villages in favour of British rule.
10. Slave Sabha.

business of an *Aman Sabha*, as they suppose, is to maintain peace. They have been led to think that there have grown up parties in the country which propose to subvert law and order, and it is to checkmate them that the *Aman Sabhas* have been brought into existence. But on further thought it will be easy for you to tell who is to be benefited by the maintenance of peace and who by the creation of riots and disturbances. You will find and, on a little consideration, you will understand, that if there is any class of people who will benefit by the maintenance of peace it is the noncooperators. Peace is advantageous to the Indians and disadvantageous to the British Government and to its officials. For if you maintain perfect order and if you carry into practice noncooperation with all its details, there is no power on earth which can retard your progress or which can snatch away Swaraj from your hands. But if you initiate violence, if you bring into play your *lathis* and swords you must know that the Englishmen will not be slow to reply to you in the same terms. They have nothing with which they can respond to the swords and guns of noncooperation but they can reply to your own *lathis* and swords. They like to have riots and disturbances so that they may knock one against another and thus find the opportunity to wipe you out, to shoot you in thousands and send you down to jails.

Brothers, the Englishmen want at this moment to raise up dissensions among you. They want you to come to blows; they want to bring about conflict between the kisans and the zamindars, between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. It has been brought to my knowledge they have gone so far in many places as to incite quarrels between Indians and Indians and to bring them to actual blows. They succeeded in it to a certain extent; you may see then that your *Aman Sabhas* have been established merely to deceive you. They are not meant to establish peace. This latter forms a part of your duty and of ours. It is certainly not a function of theirs. You do not know perhaps how order is being maintained in the *Aman Sabhas*. I have got papers with me at this moment telling us how the signatures and thumb impressions are being obtained and how people are being enlisted as members of the *Aman Sabha*. They give an account of the people on whom the misfortune has fallen. The policeman goes about carrying his *lathi* and forcibly makes them members of the *Aman Sabha*. The business of the *Aman Sabha* is to frighten people with *lathis*, to coerce and thus to make them into members. Do you know how far this would maintain the nature of the *Aman Sabha?* Its real purpose is to create quarrels and dissensions among you while the maintenance of peace is a business of ours.

The other thing which requires to be emphasized is the meaning

of noncooperation. It means to refuse to help, and to withdraw your support from, the British administration. It may raise the question: how can you succeed if you withdraw your support from the British administration? It is possible only when you have full cooperation amongst yourselves. Those among you who have studied history and are aware of what is happening in the world must know that history teaches a lesson, namely the people who are disunited must fall down, while those who are united have been victorious. You can learn this lesson from history in various ways; you may read the history of our own country. If you read the annals of the last hundred and fifty years you will come to know that the calamities that have befallen you and that have reduced you to the present position of mere beasts have been due to mutual disunion. The Indians cut the throats of Indians and serve the cause of the enemy. You must be aware of the fact that the Englishmen who are ruling and tyrannising over us, have not got possession of the country by dint of their swords. They did not overcome us with their bravery. They got admission into India by means of treachery. They came to India by inflicting misery on us and by fomenting quarrels among us, by knocking Indian against Indian. While we were busy in cutting the throats of one another, they came here and took possession of the country. This is how the English have come here. This is the way by which the English maintained their possession for the last 150 years. For these 150 years they have been trying to prevent the union of Indians. In a thousand ways they have tried to sow the seed of disunion and to create differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Every year you know, at one place or the other, the Hindus and the Mussalmans quarrel. Just consider that such quarrels do not take place in Indian States. How is it that it does not take place there? Such occurrences are every year repeated in places where there is British administration or the British Indian Government.

Brethren, the English have maintained their rule in this country for the last 150 years by creating disunion here, by making Indians quarrel with each other. If you know the history of India there is no need to give proof. If you read the history of different countries you will reach the same conclusion. Thus it is your duty, if you have a mind to free India then it is your foremost duty, to bring about union among yourselves, both of you putting aside all your differences. If we want to quarrel, we shall do so against our enemy who is oppressing us. Fight with him who has made a slave of you. It is your duty as a noncooperator, to foster perfect cooperation among yourselves.

At present we are fighting against a very wise and brave nation. The English are the rulers, they are by no means fools or cowards. They

are our enemies and so we fight against them. It is only when we rise higher than them in points of virtue that we can defeat them. If they are brave we should be more so, if they are wise, we should be wiser. It is only when we too raise up a powerful army that we can defeat the English and their co-workers. Raise up an army and place it against the bravest of the soldiers. We must regulate our actions by the consideration that as long as we are cutting the throats of one another we cannot defeat them. We cannot attain Swaraj.

In my opinion, these two are the roots of noncooperation. Firstly, we must maintain perfect peace. Secondly, we must have a perfect union among ourselves. If we come to realize and to act upon these two principles, we have travelled more than half the distance. There are a few more things which we have to learn. Maintain peace. Every Hindu and Mussalman has to do it. In this very connection I want to tell you one or two things more. The first thing is this. Those who are our enemies, who are afraid of the union of the Hindus and the Mussalmans or of the Hindus and the Sikhs, are at present trying their best to create differences amongst us. They will exert their best efforts to create dissensions between brother and brother. You well know that they tried their best to foment quarrels between the Sikhs and the Hindus. You know that at present the English officials want to terrorize the Hindus by saying that the Mussalmans will invite the Amir of Kabul[11] and that a Muslim rule shall be established over the Hindus. Brethren, I do not know how far the residents of Jhansi and Bundhelkhand have been influenced by it. When I heard it, I could not resist laughing at them. When I found that it has had its effect on some persons, I was a bit disturbed. When we are confounded even by such absurdities, how shall we gain Swaraj?

Firstly, I want you to ponder a bit over the situation. The Amir of Kabul would be the greatest fool if he tries to rule here and if he invades our country. Secondly, all the great Muslim leaders of this

11. Amanullah Khan (1892-1960); King of Afghanistan from 1919 to 1929; the third son of Amir Habibullah Khan. He declared Afghanistan independent in both internal and external affairs, and demanded recognition of this status by the Government of India. The resulting negotiations led to war with the British on 3 May 1919. A peace treaty was signed at Rawalpindi on 8 August 1919 by which Britain recognised Afghanistan's independence. Amanullah assumed the title of King. His attempt to introduce social reforms on western lines roused strong opposition and he abdicated in January 1929.

country have explicitly declared that they do not want to have a foreign government. I have told you in the very beginning that we want self-government, we do not want the rule of any alien nation. At present, we are fighting with the English. We want to turn them out of the country. This would, by no means, indicate that we want the Japanese, the Russians, the Bolsheviks or the Afghans, to take possession of our country. If any other nation attacks India and tries to make a slave of us we shall fight against it as strenuously as we are fighting today against the English. We shall free India. We shall attain Swaraj. If there arises a necessity, we shall fight against even the whole world and shall attain Swaraj. They are trying to set up the Amir of Kabul as a scarecrow and thereby they mean to terrorize you and to deceive you. I am prepared to define with Maulana Mohamed Ali the attitude which the Hindus should adopt as noncooperators if the Amir of Kabul were to attack the English. We say, you, the Government, are sinful, you violate our religion. We consider it a sin to help you; by no means is it our duty to help you. When the Amir of Kabul comes would you help this sinful Government? Would you participate in such iniquity? We would not tolerate the presence of the Afghans or of any other nation. If you withdraw yourselves silently and let us have Swaraj, then we shall ourselves get rid of the Afghans. When we are free we shall deal with the Afghans. War or whatever else may come, we shall deal with it. But if the English do not give us Swaraj and if they say that they would not give it to us then we shall tell them plainly "if you like you may fight with them; we shall not help you even with a pice or a soldier".

I am not afraid of the Afghans. I do not fear anything whatsoever of this world. There is only one thing before us. The English Government is the obstacle between us and freedom. We want to get rid of it. We fear neither the Afghans, the Russians, the Germans nor the Bolsheviks. That which is suppressing us, that which is keeping us in slavery, is the British Government. We have to defeat it by means of noncooperation. By defeating it we have to attain Swaraj. If we have power enough to defeat and to bring to its knees the British Government, which is very powerful and which extends all over the world, remember there is not another which can successfully withstand us. It is not at all possible for Afghans to fight against us. The enemy which we have to fight at present is a powerful nation and Empire. We have to fight it to the finish. We ought to show no consideration to any other nation.

The second thing which disturbs our peace of mind is an old question. It is concerning cow-killing. You know that the Hindus and the Mussalmans have been fighting about it for a considerable number

of years. We lose our lives. You know that for a Hindu the cow is a very sacred animal; it is a holy animal. The Hindu is very much grieved when a cow is slaughtered. Every Hindu wishes that cow-killing be stopped. You also know that according to Islam the killing of cows is permitted. In spite of it I would not say anything whatsoever to the Mussalmans. I would repeat what the Muslim *Ulemas* and leaders have already said and that which I have heard from them. They have said "cow-killing is religiously allowed but it is not enjoined on the Mussalmans". That is to say every Mohammedan is at perfect liberty to perform the sacrifice of a cow or to act otherwise. In what way would it be possible for the Hindus to stop cow-killing? Just think of it. What would happen if you go to stop Mohammedans with your *lathis* or by threatening them? Just think what would be the result of such a proceeding. If you go to a person who is not a coward and who possesses some courage and try to get your own way by threatening him, what would be the result? He would not yield, on the other hand he would say "as they consider me a coward I will not yield to what they say". Surely he would perform the sacrifice. It is an impossibility to put a stop to cow-killing in this way. This cow-slaughter would only lead to manslaughter. The Hindus would kill the Mussalmans and the Mussalmans in their turn would kill the Hindus. There is only one solution to it. It can be done only by the united efforts of the Hindus and the Mussalmans. The Hindus ought to leave it to the Mussalmans and they should tell them in a conciliatory tone, "Brethren, we are pained by cow-slaughter. You know how deeply we love a cow. We trust that since we are your brothers you would not like to cause pain to your brothers. We leave it to you. We have full confidence that you will not deceive us and will do nothing which might pain us." But the Hindus have to leave this question to the Mussalmans. If the Hindus do not resort to violence or threats, then their humanity would compel them to show the friendly attitude which you show to them. It would become their duty to treat you as brothers.

It is the duty of the Hindus to help the Mussalmans in the matter of the Khilafat whether or not the Mussalmans stop the cow-killing. It is your duty to act according to your faith whether or not others act in the similar way. We shall, out of our love for the Mussalmans, exert our best to help them and will by no means resort to any oppression or excess whatsoever. Then it would be binding on the Mussalmans too to have regard for your welfare and to abstain from doing anything which may grieve you. There is an instance of it in last year's *Bakr-Id*. You know that cows are sacrificed on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* festival. Last year in Delhi and Bombay where, in previous years,

thousands of cows were killed, the Muslim leaders advised the Mussalmans not to make these sacrifices, with the result that in Delhi, where about ten or twelve hundred used to be killed every year, only 40 or 50 were sacrificed last year. Even those forty were killed by the Government servants—either policemen or some of their friends. They killed simply to cause friction between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. They did so in order that it may be said to the Hindus that the Mussalmans killed the cows and the Hindus should not, therefore, make friends with them. Similarly, in Bombay only a few cows were slain instead of hundreds as in previous years and those few also owing to the pressure of the Government.

Brothers, rest assured that if you want to fulfil your duty then you must not provoke the Mussalmans. If you show the least highhandedness then you will not be able to achieve what you desire. I am laying stress upon this because I have heard that the Hindus have perpetrated some atrocities in Bundhelkhand and have taken a vow to put an end to cow-slaughter, failing which they would resort to force. I am also a Hindu and dislike cow-slaughter. I want that not a single cow should be killed. I see only one way of stopping the slaughter of cows and that is by cooperation. I hope that you will also strive to achieve this end, which can be done only by mutual love and goodwill. What I want to tell you is that much of the cow-slaughter is due to the English army. You are ready to fight with the Mussalmans and quarrel with them with *lathis*. Do you not know that if the Mussalmans kill 10, 20, 50 or 100 cows, lakhs of cows are slain for European soldiers? Do you not remember what happened in the Central Provinces? I have only heard, I do not know how far it is true. I do not know the exact number, but this much I know, that thousands of cows are killed for the Englishmen in the Central Provinces. It seems that the European soldiers cannot live without beef. On the one hand, they enslave you, on the other, they kill thousands of cows and destroy your religion, and you tolerate all this patiently.

You must pay attention to the question of cow-killing and see what a large number of them are being slaughtered. You have at present no consideration for your *dharma* and so the country is being ruined. You do not get pure milk in your country. In thousands of ways the agricultural work is suffering. Cows are being killed every day. Even the best of them are butchered and the meat sent for consumption in the army. They are sent from one place to another. They are sent to Basra and other far off places. If you really want to do something, do stop this. How can you stop it? There is one way to do it. Hindus and Muslims unitedly and with love should first try to stop the slaughter of the lakhs of cows for the English army. We should have nothing to do

with the British army which is kept on our heads and which is sucking our blood. We will get Swaraj when the British army is isolated.

So I respectfully ask you again to be always united. Efforts are being made to disunite the Hindus and the Mussalmans. The Police and C.I.D. people will come to you in various forms. Amongst the Hindus they will come in the garb of great Pandits and Sadhus and among the Muslims they will assume the guise of great Maulanas and as such instigate you to quarrel. I wish to tell you that he who will do such things and try to create disunion and quarrel amongst you, whether he be a Hindu or a Muslim, is the enemy of the Hindus and of the Mussalmans and is the enemy of the country. You should consider him to be a man from the camp of your enemies. He is sent by them, and so must be turned out.

These two things which I have said are the roots of noncooperation. I hope you will fully act upon these two things. I hear that the people of Jhansi and Bundhelkhand are in fear. I am simply astonished to hear this. What has happened here which has frightened you? What repression has been resorted to here and how many thousands of you have been sent into jails? What Jallianwala Bagh has occurred here? What triangle has been erected here to whip your naked children? I was told that here are *tahsildars* and *thanadars* of whom you are afraid.

Brethren, you are afraid of *tahsildars* and *thanadars*. What is then your remedy? How can Mahatmaji encourage you? You know what is the condition of our province. Today in the districts of Oudh thousands of kisans are in jail. From each district five to seven hundred kisans are in prison. Perhaps from the district of Fyzabad alone, there are about 600 prisoners. Besides these another five to seven hundred men were already in custody; their trials have not taken place nor their cases heard. Bad food and water was supplied to them, and this spread diseases amongst them that killed many. Moreover, in the districts of Fyzabad, Partabgarh, and Sultanpur, the kisans have been sent to jail in hundreds. Now policemen and government servants go to the houses of kisans to threaten them. From morning to evening they do trouble the kisans. This has made their life intolerable. Remember that the trouble that one feels under such circumstances is far greater than that felt in the prison house. If the police are at your doors from morning to evening and trouble you the whole time then that is the real trouble. This is the state to which the Government servants have reduced those three or four districts which took part in the organisation of Kisan Sabhas. Every *panch* and every president of the *panchayat* is being threatened. They have been prosecuted and security for good behaviour was demanded. If they did not furnish it, they were locked up in jails. You must be knowing that in Rai Bareli alone fire was opened three

times. The same is the condition of the districts of Rai Bareli, Partabgarh, Sultanpur and Fyzabad.[12]

Now I ask, what courage have you shown? What has happened here which gives you cause for anxiety? Look at the district of Bijnor; security was demanded from 10 to 15 men who were the young men of the Khilafat Committee. They preferred to go to jail and they did go. Others are also inclined to go to prison rather than to furnish security to the British Government and thus aggravate their disgrace. What is happening in Partabgarh? Thousands are being sent to jail, but even that is not sufficient. If you want to fight the battle of freedom then you ought to be prepared for things such as happened in the Punjab. You ought to be fully prepared for martial law. You should realize that the time has come when you will be shot at. Your children will be shot at. Attempts will be made to dishonour your women. You will be oppressed in every way. You should know it for certain that unless you are prepared for this, you are not fit to be free. What do you think of freedom? Will you get it merely by shouting *Gandhi ki jai* without doing any *tapasya?* So long as the fear from your hearts is not removed you will not be successful.

Brethren, now cast away the fear of these *tahsildars. Tahsildars* are really insignificant. Cast off the fear of your officers. If you fear, fear only one and that one is God. Do not fear anybody else. Be firm in your *dharma* and faith. You know the fight that is going on is called a fight of *dharma.* Ours is the holy fight. Our revered Jagat Guru has said in English what some of you might not have understood, that this was the fight of *dharma* and for that reason he had taken part in it. For that reason he thought it his duty to put aside all other things and participate fully in the battle of Swaraj. Because Hindu *dharma* does not mean that on one side you worship God and bathe in the Ganges and on the other go and talk against *dharma.* The major part of Hindu religion is full of *dharma.* This has been said by the Jagat Guru. Mahatmaji says that this is the fight of *dharma.* Therefore, our duty is to go on with our work honestly keeping this in view. We must fight this battle in this way.

I have come to know that here in Jhansi a split had taken place among the residents. The residents of this city had turned against someone because he voted for the introduction of some new municipal tax. I do not know the facts in detail. I do not know what he did. Therefore it is possible you might be justified in getting angry with him. It is possible that what he did was wrong. Afterwards I heard

12. For the Kisan agitation, see Section 3, post.

that you boycotted him in your dining parties and refused to see him. He could not get food or water. The sweepers too did not go to clean his house. Everything was stopped. Brethren, as I have said, I do not know the amount of wrong he has committed. I want to tell you humbly that noncooperators should not behave in this way. This is against the principle of the noncooperation movement and that of humanity. You must not stop the supply of food even to your enemy. Do you know that this is the fight of Indians? In a battle, if the enemy is wounded, then the duty of another enemy is to look after him and give him food and water. If we accord such treatment to our enemies, then we must know the way in which we ought to behave with our brethren who are against us. No doubt you have the right of boycotting the man who deceives you or goes over to the side of your enemy. You have the right of not contracting any friendship with him. You may not take part in a feast at his house. But you have not the right of depriving a hungry man of food or a thirsty man of water. Therefore, I am grieved to hear when I find that we commit such excesses. Now we must not repeat such harsh things.

I wish that we win this battle without resorting to such harsh treatment. I say that these Englishmen are tyrants and treat others harshly. The Englishmen have tyrannized the Mohammedans. Then will we too do the same? How will we say to others that they are tyrants and we are not? We have to win this war without committing any excess and strictly following the path of truth and *dharma*.

Brethren, I have taken about an hour of yours. Now I am coming to an end. My friends have come here from a long distance and they will tell you about the principle of noncooperation. I did not tell you one thing which, in my opinion, is necessary. A resolution will be moved that every one of you should be a member of the Congress and pay one rupee and work at the spinning wheel. These three things are before you. It is the *dharma* of every one of you to do all these things. If you strictly act up to this then you will proceed in the path of Swaraj. I wish that you yourselves go on further along the path of Swaraj and be ready to bear all the misfortunes that may befall you. Small boys are going to jails. I am not relating a story. Perhaps you have read it in papers. Six boys[13] were sent to jail at Partabgarh. They went to

13. Radha Raman, headmaster of the Daraganj Rashtriya Vidyalaya, Mangla Prasad, of the Gandhi Ashram, Banaras, and Bans Narain Singh, Murli Dhar, Jwala Prasad and Ram Harsh Singh, students of the Tilak Vidyalaya, Allahabad, were sentenced on 28 April 1921 to six months' simple imprisonment for distributing a leaflet *Kisanon ko Sandesh* issued by the U.P. Kisan Sabha above the signature of Motilal Nehru, the President of the Sabha.

prison because I had given them notices to distribute. Their fault was that they did distribute these handbills. They committed no other crime. On that they were required to give securities. They had learnt their lessons well. They were no cowards. They were noncooperators. They declined to furnish security and preferred to go to the jail. The Collector went to jail and said, "If you say that you will do nothing in my district — if you like you may do so in other districts — I will release you". But they did not consent to it. They preferred to stay in jail and uptil now they are there. It was only a matter of speaking a few words, but they did not say that. In this way, your young men are fighting today while you are sitting at your homes. Men of your calibre fear the *tahsildar* and *thanadar!* For some time you have been crying out "*Jai*", but now the testing time has come. Do what you are now asked to do. Enlist yourselves in the army of Swaraj like soldiers and carry out the orders of your superiors like soldiers. Become members of the Congress, give subscriptions and work at the spinning wheel.

You know that Mahatma Gandhi has said that he is impatient for Swaraj. It is my wish that this impatience for Swaraj should be shared by a great number of men. You must take to your heart the facts that the prevailing condition of the country and the existing government are equally unworthy of us. We cannot under any condition put up with it. We shall not take rest till we have removed the British Government and attained Swaraj. It is my wish that you people might take this on yourselves — that you shall not dissociate yourselves from noncooperation till you have got Swaraj. You shall stand by noncooperation and you shall be fighting whatever the consequences. I hope that after you have thought over the matter you will fear nobody but God. It is only then that Bundhelkhand and the Jhansi district would be in the forefront of this battle of Swaraj. And after you have helped us fully and Swaraj is attained you shall be entitled to say that it has been achieved through your efforts.

35. To G. B. Lambert[1]

Ramgarh
July 4, 1921

Sir,

Your letter No. 1339 dated the 16th June, 1921 together with some extracts was delivered to me by the Collector of Allahabad on the 22nd June[2]. I was also provided the same evening with what purported to be full reports taken by the C.I.D. of the three speeches made by me from which these extracts are said to have been taken.

The question whether the speeches I have delivered are or are not actionable under the general provisions of the existing law, has no practical importance in view of the special terms of the undertaking I am called upon to give, and in any case is one to which I am wholly indifferent. It is immaterial to me whether the Government does or does not proceed against me and I am not prepared to treat with it in any manner or to give it any undertaking to avoid such proceedings. What I am concerned with, however, is whether I have in my speeches been guilty of any deviation from truth or any incitement to violence. Noncooperation is to me a sacred thing and its very basis is truth and non-violence. If in the excitement of the moment I have used any words or phrases which offend against these principles, then I have erred and it is my duty to acknowledge my error and to express my regret to the public, regardless of the doings or intentions of Government. But even if I have so erred I could not apologize to Government to secure my own immunity from a prosecution.

The three speeches to which my attention has been drawn were delivered many months ago — the Allahabad speeches as long ago as November, 1920 and the Sultanpur speech four months ago. I have no exact recollection of what I said then, but after a careful perusal of the reports you have sent me. I am inclined to think that the speeches

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
George Bancroft Lambert (1873-1945); Chief Secretary to Government of United Provinces, 1921-27 and Governor, October 1930-April 1931.
2. Jawaharlal received the following letter dated 16 June 1921 from Lambert :-
"I am directed to invite your attention to the speeches made by you which are attached to this letter. The Government is advised that these are actionable under the law. Before taking action, however, it has decided to give you a *locus poenitentiae* if you will express regret and undertake not to deliver in future speeches directly or indirectly inciting to violence or calculated to create an atmosphere of readiness for violence. In the event of your making such a statement, no proceedings will be taken in regard to speeches already delivered, nor will action be taken in regard to subsequent speeches as long as you observe the undertaking made."

have suffered from bad reporting and "mistranslation". Qualifying words and phrases are wanting in places and many gaps occur. The Sultanpur report is, on the face of it, a very brief summary of what I am supposed to have said. A speech lasting nearly an hour has been given in two typewritten pages. The Daira Shah Ajmal report is most disjointed and credits me with giving utterance to some ridiculous statements. I am reported to have said that "Jallianwala Bagh had been perpetrated all over India". I must have either said that Jallianwala Bagh had been perpetrated in India or that Jallianwala Bagh *may* be perpetrated all over India. The statement about Kabul is somewhat contradictory. I certainly do not "like" the idea of an Afghan army marching into India and could not have said so. What I clearly must have said was that I was not afraid of an Afghan invasion and was prepared to oppose it if occasion arose. I have repeatedly stated that I do not want strangers as rulers in this country, whether they be Englishmen, Afghans, Bolsheviks or Japanese.

I need not however go into the question of the wording of the reports. It is clear to me that there has been some distortion of what I said. But I certainly have used strong language which is in places very bitter. The Daira Shah Ajmal speech dealt with the treatment meted out to the African negroes for several hundred years by the English. The figures I mention were taken from a book on the subject by a well known English writer (Morel's *Black Man's Burden*[3]) which I had read a short while before. My language is undoubtedly harsh and bitter but the subject was an unpleasant one and I felt strongly on it. I tried to make it clear that my words did not refer to Englishmen as such. If, however, I produced the impression that I was condemning the whole English people, among whom I number some valued and respected friends, I shall certainly be prepared to express regret to the public for unconsciously misleading it.

I have carefully considered these speeches and I can find no incitement to violence or untrue statement in any of them. I have, therefore, no occasion to express my regret. Truth and non-violence are the very foundations of my creed. They have been enjoined upon me by the National Congress. In all humility but with all the strength that is in me I have endeavoured to live up to these high ideals and I trust I shall ever continue to do so. But I give no undertakings to a Government with which I have noncooperated.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. First published in 1920, it gave a vivid account of the atrocities committed by European imperialists in Africa.

36. To the Secretary, District Congress Committee, Aligarh[1]

Allahabad
10 Aug. 1921

Dear Sir,

Sometime ago I wired to you suggesting that Pandit Bhu Dev Sharma[2] should withdraw the undertaking he had given to Government and should, in view of this undertaking, resign from his secretaryship of the District Committee. The Provincial Congress Committee has since laid it down that no person who has given an undertaking to Government can be an office-bearer of a Congress Committee. Kindly let me know whether Bhu Devji has resigned or not. Has he withdrawn his undertaking? If he has then there is no rule to prevent him from continuing to remain Secretary but it will be proper for him to resign and seek re-election. I think that Bhu Devji realizes that the undertaking which he gave was a grievous error on his part and that the P.C.C. has no alternative course before it than the one it is following. If he withdraws his undertaking and takes the consequences, he will to some extent remove the effect of his lapse. There has been a great deal of indiscipline lately and this cannot go on without prejudice to our movement.

Yours truly,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Copy of the foregoing forwarded to Maulvi A. M. Khwaja, Aligarh, for favour of information.

J. N.
Secretary

1. Khwaja Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. A Congressman from Aligarh.

37. Repression in the United Provinces[1]

Repression in the U.P. has on the whole not been of the flashy type — the arrest of prominent leaders etc. — but it has been very thorough and there are few who have not felt the force of it. It may be considered under three heads:

1. Note prepared by Jawaharlal for Mahatma Gandhi sometime in June 1921. *The Independent*, 24 August 1921.

1. In its relation to the kisan movement.
2. The trial and conviction of young workers.
3. The use of Security Sections and Section 144.

A very determined and persistent effort has been made by Government to kill this movement. Early in February, Ramchandra,[2] Kidarnath[3] and Deo Narain[4] were arrested. There was no disturbance of any kind and Government was emboldened to take concerted action to crush the kisans. Columns of cavalry, artillery and infantry were marched through the principal districts and people were forced to supply *rasad* etc. to the troops. In one place schoolboys were made to salute the European troops.

In Rai Bareli and Fyzabad large numbers of kisans were arrested ostensibly for the part they took in the looting in January. Most of these kisans were innocent and their sole offence was that they were *panches*. Hundreds were kept in jail and then released without trial. Hundreds are still in jail awaiting trial. Some weeks ago there were nearly 700 kisans in the Fyzabad jail. They had been there for three months without trial. Prisoners who have been released say that the men in jail are given such bad food that cholera has broken out and they are dying in numbers.

In Sultanpur and Partabgarh districts there was no disturbance of any kind. But even here hundreds of *panches* and *sarpanches* are in jail or have been made to give security. The usual offence charged against them is *"Tum Sabha Ke sarghana ho aur logon ko Sabha men sharik honepar majbur karte ho."*[5] Sometimes it is added that *"Nau aur dhobi band kar diye gai hain"*.[6] There was some truth in these allegations in December last and in January. But since then there had hardly been a single case of social boycott in these districts. False cases are started on these allegations and conviction almost invariably follows. Most of these cases are instituted by private parties at the instigation of the local police or zamindar.

2. Pandit Ramchandra Sharma (1875-1950); popularly known as Baba Ramchandra, was a leader of the Kisan movement in U.P. after the First World War. Earlier he had worked for a number of years in Fiji. On his return to U.P. he organised the Kisan movement in the districts of Pratapgarh, Sultanpur and Jaunpur, and enlisted the support of Congressmen such as Tandon and Jawaharlal. He then parted company with the Congress movement.
3. A kisan worker of Fyzabad.
4. General Secretary of the Oudh Kisan Congress, who was sentenced in 1921 to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200.
5. "You are leaders of the Sabha and you compel people to attend it."
6. "Even barbers and washermen have not been spared."

The Seditious Meetings Act[7] has been in force in Fyzabad, Partabgarh, Sultanpur and Rai Bareli. Before this Act was applied, all meetings were prohibited under Section 144 in some of these districts. This order was obeyed and no meetings were held. In spite of this the Seditious Meetings Act was enforced. Our workers in these districts are harassed in a variety of ways. A host of C.I.D. men and uniformed policemen follow them and precede them. Villagers are threatened lest they join the Congress or help us in any other way. They have been told orally that to use a *charkha* is against the law, to shout "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai" is a heinous offence, to sign the Congress form is illegal, etc., etc. Men who have signed are threatened with legal proceedings and bribes are extorted to hush matters up. Six young student workers in Partabgarh were sent to jail for distributing leaflets. They were asked to give security but they refused to do so. A similar case was started against six others at Sultanpur but it has been withdrawn. Two workers have been sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment on a false charge of breaking the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act. One of these was beaten and kicked by a policeman.

It is difficult to give a proper idea of the hundred and one methods by which Government has tried to crush the kisans. The zamindars and the few local persons who call themselves Moderates have allied themselves with the Government and have succeeded in making the life of the average kisan a burden almost too great to be borne.

In the other districts of the U.P. a similar attempt, but on a much smaller scale, has been made to put an end to the kisan movement.

A considerable number of Congress and Khilafat workers have been proceeded against and sentenced. None of the leaders of the movement have so far been touched but many of their efficient lieutenants have gone. Among the more prominent persons against whom sedition cases have been started may be mentioned Pandit Dev Ratan Sharma[8] of Dehra Dun.

Hamid Ahmad,[9] a Khilafat worker in Allahabad, has just been sentenced under Section 121A to transportation for life and forfeiture of

7. According to the Act, all public meetings were banned and any person taking part or organising such meetings was liable to arrest without warrant.
8. Was convicted in June 1921 to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment for participation in the noncooperation movement.
9. Member of the Allahabad District Conference and of the Khilafat Committee, was sentenced in May 1921 to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

property. His offence was having made a speech in which, after enjoining non-violence for the present, he said that if noncooperation failed, Muslims would resort to the sword.

A number of Congress officials in the districts have also been sentenced under Section 108 or 124A.

Some volunteers have been sent to jail in connection with the anti-drink campaign.

There has been an extraordinarily wide use of the Sections and there is hardly a prominent worker who has not been served with a notice under Section 144. Even Maulana Mahomed Ali has received such a notice. I have a list of over a hundred with me and this is very incomplete.

Section 144 has also been used to proclaim whole districts and prohibit meetings. It has been made to serve the purpose of the Seditious Meetings Act.

In one case at least a notice under Section 144 ordered that the Khilafat receipts should be sold and the person concerned should not belong to any such organisation.

Security Sections are also taking the place of the Press Act. Securities amounting to Rs. 3,000 were demanded from the Editor and Printer of the *Pratap*[10] for certain articles written therein. The securities have been given.

Many gun licences have been confiscated. Government servants have been threatened with dismissal because their relatives were non-cooperators. Orders have been issued prohibiting the use of the Gandhi cap.[11] Notices have been issued threatening those who collect and those who pay subscriptions to the Swaraj Fund.

Congress and Kisan Sabha offices have been raided by the police.

In Benares some students and others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

0. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and Sheo Narayan Misra respectively.

1. The khaddar cap, modelled on the convict's headgear worn by Mahatma Gandhi in prison in South Africa.

38. To the General Secretary, A.I.C.C.[1]

19.10.21

Dear Sir,

The Hathras Congress Committee informs us that they have collected Rs. 16400/- for the Tilak Swaraj Fund but that all this is earmarked for Hathras work and must only be spent there. They have however out of their abundance sent us 25% of this, i.e. Rs. 4100/-. If their contention is correct the All India Committee is not entitled to 25% of their collections nor are we entitled to any part thereof. May I know your views as to what we should do with the amount they have sent? Should we retain it in toto or send you a part of it? I would suggest that under the peculiar circumstances of the case we should retain Rs. 2050/- and send you Rs. 2050/-.

2. A question has arisen in some districts as to the distribution of the collections made by means of *Muthia*, *Chutki* or *Khaliani*[2] systems between the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the Khilafat Fund. It is obviously impossible for two rival organisations to arrange *Muthia* etc. collections in the same place. The Congress and Khilafat Committees have therefore arranged that only one such collection should be made and this should be divided usually in the ratio of -/12/- to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and -/4/- to the Khilafat Fund. I understand that this arrangement is working in Behar also. The sanction of our Committee has been asked for this arrangement but our Council feels some hesitation in agreeing to this proposal. If you consider it necessary, kindly refer the matter to the Working Committee. A question of principle is involved and any decision is likely to have far-reaching consequences.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru
Secretary

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. At this time collections were also being made in kind. *Muthia* was the quantity of grain which could be held in the palm of the hand and *Chutki* the quantity which could be lifted with three fingers. *Khaliani* was the collection made at threshing places.

39. Note to Mahatma Gandhi[1]

I spoke on three occasions at the Provincial Conference at Agra. I cannot repeat the language I used but I am very clear as to what I meant. On the first occasion I protested against some veiled references to violence. Hasrat Mohani[2] was our President and in his presidential address he expressed his dissatisfaction with the creed of non-violence. Several other speakers used violent language and apparently looked forward to a time when violence would have full play. All this took place on the Karachi Resolution.[3]. I laid stress on the non-violent character of the struggle and said that swadeshi was our only hope.

On the second day, I proposed the swadeshi resolution. Notice of an amendment involving a boycott of British goods had been given. It was on this occasion that I probably used the phrases and words which have been misunderstood by Mr. Gandhi's questioner. My whole argument was that so far no way but that of swadeshi had been shown to us to achieve our freedom. I dealt with violence and disposed of it. I then dealt with various other objections. I stated that I desired most earnestly to rid India of English domination and the *charkha* and swadeshi were apparently the only means to bring this about.

I spoke a third time in answer to the amendment about boycott of British goods. I had opposed this amendment, and a very heated debate had taken place, about a score of speakers having spoken on either side. The amendment was put to the vote and lost.

1. This was Jawaharlal's reply to an inquiry made by Mahatma Gandhi regarding the charge that he had extended his condemnation of the existing system of government to its British authors and administrators. Written sometime in November 1921, it appeared in *Young India*, 8 December 1921, and has been reprinted in *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol, XXI, pp. 535-537.
2. Maulana Hasrat Mohani (1875-1951); poet, scholar and ardent nationalist who founded an Urdu paper called *Urdu-e-Mualla*. In 1909 he was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. On his refusal to pay the fine, the police raided his library and confiscated books worth thousands of rupees. After his release he started a quarterly journal, *Tazakrai Shuara*, and was again imprisoned. On his release he again joined politics and in 1921 became President of the Muslim League. Was a member of the Constituent Assembly.
3. The All-India Khilafat Conference held at Karachi in July 1921 resolved that every Muslim should owe allegiance to the Khilafat and that the Indian Muslims should spare no sacrifice in upholding the integrity and prestige of the Khilafat and in liberating Muslim territories from non-Muslim control.

It is evident that I have been misreported by some papers. I have not so far seen any report of my speeches and do not know which paper can have done so. My references to "English domination" or the "English Government" have been made to apply to the English people. I may have used the words अंग्रेजों को हिन्दुस्तान से अलग करना[4] or some such language, and the reporter may have seized hold of this without reference to the context. As a matter of fact, the very circumstance that I proposed to expel "the English" by swadeshi ought to have convinced the listener that I referred to the system and not to individuals. It would be absurd to try to expel a single Englishman by the *charkha*.

I cannot of course say that my feeling towards Englishmen as such is entirely impersonal. I hate the system but sometimes, in spite of myself, I cannot help feeling illwill towards a certain individual for some time at least, and sometimes the illwill is transferred to the English people as a whole. But the feeling is always momentary. I am really surprised at the general absence of illwill against the English.

It is somewhat curious that the sentence to which exception has been taken occurred in a speech opposing a boycott of British goods. I opposed this on the ground, *inter alia*, that it was opposed to the basic principle of noncooperation, that it was based on hate and not love and so on. No one who heard me and who understood Urdu could have gone away with the impression that I was taking part in a crusade against individual Englishmen.

It is always difficult to differentiate between a man and his action. I can well believe that if an Englishman insulted me, I would flare up and hit him. But I think this would be weakness on my part. I have not enough control over myself. I am apt to lose my temper at the slightest provocation. I am occasionally very angry with Englishmen. But I have never experienced the desire to "expel" Englishmen as such. In spite of everything I am a great admirer of the English, and in many things I feel even now that an Englishman can understand me better than the average Indian.

4. To expel the English from India.

3

AMONG THE KISANS

1. Vicarious Charity[1]

Sir,

The Independent announced a few days ago that a number of donations have been promised for the proposed Lucknow University. In the list of donors appeared the names of "Sessendi Estate[2] Rs. 1,00,000", and "The tenants of Sessendi Estate, Rs. 50,000". The cause of education is dear to us all, and every one in this province wishes the brightest of future to the new University. It is pleasing to see that the appeal for funds for the proposed University has been so nobly responded to. But there is another aspect of the question which is not so pleasing. The collection of funds for public objects by, or on behalf of the Government has, in the hands of underlings, become a method of extortion and oppression and it is high time that an effective stop was put to it. Many of us have some knowledge of the methods which were adopted to swell the numerous War Funds and War Loans. Are these methods going to be repeated in Oudh? The Sessendi Estate is at present under the Court of Wards, the taluqdar being considered, for some reason or another, unfit to manage his own estate. What right has the Court of Wards under these circumstances to part with large sums of their ward's money even for such a laudable object as the Lucknow University? I do not know if any consent was taken from the taluqdar in question. But such consent, even if taken, can count for little. If the taluqdar is not competent to manage his own estate he is hardly competent to exercise a wise discretion in the matter of large donations.

But far more important questions arise out of the announcement of the tenants' donation. The lot of the tenants in Oudh is not an enviable one. At this moment the relations between the tenants and the taluqdars in some parts of Oudh are far from happy. And yet a sum of fifty thousand is promised on behalf of the tenantry of one estate. It is difficult to understand how this round sum was arrived at. Was a plebiscite of the tenants taken? In what manner were they consulted and how many of them were consulted? Were the methods of the War Loan meetings repeated here and a small gathering got up to pass a mock resolution promising this lordly sum to the proposed University? Did the tenants *suo motu* and out of their generosity offer this donation or was there any pressure exereised?

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Independent*, 3 July 1920.
2. Sessendi was the largest village in the Pargana of Nigohan in Mohanlalganj Tahsil, Lucknow District.

How is this sum to be rateably distributed over the tenantry and how will it be collected? Will it take the form of a tax like the well-known *Hathiauna* or the modern *Motorauna*[3] taxes indulged in by many taluqdars? Will the payment of this be voluntary or enforced?

These are a few of the questions which arise and which demand an answer. It is bad enough for illegal exactions and oppression to take place in the domains of illiterate and self-seeking taluqdars who manage their own estates. It is far worse for the Government as represented by the Court of Wards to encourage such practices.

Yours etc.
Jawaharlal Nehru

Mussoorie, June 27, 1920

3. Exactions made in the form of ostensible gifts from the peasantry on the occasion of purchase of an elephant or a car by taluqdars.

2. Agrarian Unrest in Partabgarh[1]

Sir,

I have read with interest, not unmixed with admiration, the account of your correspondent of the 'agrarian unrest in Partabgarh' which appears in your issue dated the 23rd September. My interest is naturally aroused in a matter with which I have been connected for some time past; my admiration is extorted by the dexterity with which your correspondent has strung together a number of truths, half-truths, untruths, opinions, surmise and pious hopes and called them 'a brief narrative of facts'. I do not wish to deal with your correspondent's opinions or hopes for the future. He is welcome to them, and may they give him joy! It is evident that in our views of men and things he and I are as the poles apart. But I do protest against his presenting an ill-assorted jumble of his own fashioning and calling it 'facts'.

It is difficult for me to correct all the mis-statements which abound in your correspondent's narrative within the limits of a letter to you. That would be presuming too much on your indulgence. The real facts will soon see the light of day. Meanwhile I would point out that your correspondent's respect and admiration for the 'territorial magnates and other aristocrats' and his love and devotion for the official hierarchy from top to bottom has greatly coloured his vision and restricted his view. For him it is difficult to imagine that the taluqdars who have it in them to rise to the full height of forbearance, charitableness, generosity and

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Leader*, 25 September 1920.

sympathy for the poor, can be in the wrong. It is still less conceivable that the officials who are always displaying 'unusual tact, cool-headedness and forbearance' can deviate from the straight and narrow path of virtue. And so the poor misguided tenant, led away from the path of mutual cooperation by irresponsible agitators from outside, must be in the wrong.

Your correspondent has, under the cloak of an alleged report, ventured to say that Pandit Ramchandra Sharma has been openly preaching violence to the tenantry. He has had the hardihood to repeat the allegations which the prosecution has made in various cases against Pandit Ramchandra, although most of these cases are still pending. Two cases have so far been disposed of. In one of them—a riot case—Pandit Ramchandra has been acquitted and the evidence for the prosecution relating to him has been disbelieved. The other case—under Section 107 Cr. P.C.—has had an extraordinary career and a still more extraordinary termination. An order has been passed in it binding down Pandit Ramchandra to keep the peace but I may inform you that an application has already been put in challenging the validity of this order and pointing out numerous illegalities and irregularities.

I have personally had occasion to investigate the nature of some of the cases which have been started against the kisans in Partabgarh, but I do not wish to say much on this point till the cases are disposed of.

Your correspondent refers to the Deputy Magistrate 'naturally' refusing bail to 31 accused in the Section 379 I.P.C. case. How natural this refusal was will soon appear when all the facts are known. Meanwhile I may inform you that all but one of the accused are actually on bail now.

I need say little about the 'Kisan Hitkarini Sabha'[2] to which your correspondent refers with great satisfaction. It has been sufficiently exposed in the public press already. In spite of the blessings of the aristocratic ones and the officials this 'Sabha' has failed to do any wonders or to evoke any response amongst the tenantry. Its sole function appears to be to collect a few taluqdars and their dependents and then to curse with bell, book and candle the irresponsible agitators who have the effrontery to visit the tenantry. I have little doubt that this must be a comforting, though somewhat fruitless, operation. Unhappily the agitators are little affected by it. They continue to flourish.

I am etc,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Allahabad, Sept. 22.

2. A society sponsored by some officials and taluqdars and a few Congressmen whose objective was to persuade the kisans not to agitate and to await minor reforms and improvements effected by the taluqdars.

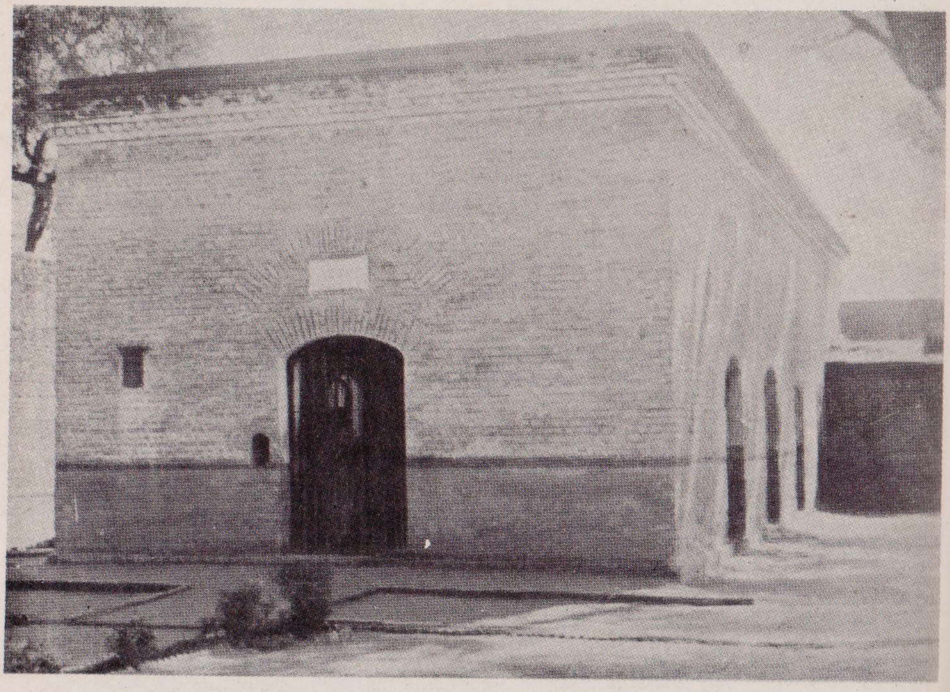
3. "Babas" on the Brain!

Facts about the Kisan Crisis[1]

I have read with considerable interest the communication of the special correspondent of *The Leader* on the "Agrarian disturbances in Rai Bareli" in its issue of the 20th. Some of the statements made by him almost take one's breath away. The correspondent has shown remarkable perspicacity in tracing the causes of the suffering of the kisans, but a little knowledge would have saved him from many pitfalls. An ounce of fact, it is said, is worth a ton of theory. Evidently strange stories of the *Babas*[2] have paralysed his judgment and made him lose all perspective and sense of proportion. Perhaps he is young in his trade. Has he met any of these wicked *Babas* in the flesh? May I assure him that the kisans have some very real grievances and that the *Babas* are not the root of all trouble? I was within easy reach of *The Leader's* correspondent at Rai Bareli and I would gladly have enlightened him on any point within my knowledge. But he chose to go to others for his facts. I would have told him that the kisan movement is older even than the present noncooperation campaign. I would have told him what magnificent work Pandit Ramchandra Sharma—one of the dreaded *Babas*—has done amongst the kisans. I would have told him also the methods of his work which are very unlike the fanciful picture drawn by *The Leader's* correspondent. I would have advised him not to write such silly sentences as: "The whole teaching becomes easily acceptable when the first creed of the Mahatmic faith is laid down that the Congress of which the Kisans form a component part governs the land", a sentence which I have read and re-read in a spirit of awe and reverence. I would have further told him that no responsible worker amongst the kisans, including Baba Ramchandra, has ever asked the kisans not to pay their *lagan* or *pote*. I would have further advised him that the path of wisdom lay in not making comprehensive statements like: "The mistake is never corrected". The mistake where it has been made by an ignorant villager has immediately been corrected by our responsible workers. In fact, it is because of Pandit Ramchandra's insistence that

1. *The Independent*, 21 January 1921.
2. A general term for religious leaders.

AMRITSAR CONGRESS, DECEMBER 1919.
Jawaharlal is sitting in the foreground, first from the left.



BARRACK NO. 4, DISTRICT JAIL, LUCKNOW.
Jawaharlal was in this Barrack from 16 June to 4 October 1922.

the *lagan* has been paid by a large number of people in spite of the failure of the rains and the consequent scarcity. All this I would have told him and much more.

The correspondent refers to the Unchahar meeting[3]. A very little investigation would have given him the true fact of the meeting. On the 20th and 21st December the Oudh Kisan Congress was held at Fyzabad and was attended by nearly 100,000 kisans. At this Congress a number of persons were chosen to represent the kisans at the National Congress at Nagpur. It was then announced to the kisans that a meeting would be held at Unchahar on the 15th January to give them the message of the Nagpur Congress. At this meeting the kisan delegates to Nagpur were expected to speak. Pandit Ramchandra never announced by word of mouth or writing that Mahatma Gandhi would preside or even attend the meeting. It is true, however, that some irresponsible or evil-disposed person issued anonymous notices that Gandhiji would attend.

The correspondent refers to a 'Babaji' "whose whereabout are at present unknown". From the context it appears that Pandit Ramchandra is meant. I am surprised at the manner in which such a positive statement of fact is made without any proper enquiry. Others are not as ignorant as the correspondent. A word to me would have enlightened him. Pandit Ramchandra has been addressing mass meetings in Bara Banki district. He went to Lucknow from there and desired to proceed to Rai Bareli but some of his friends, including me, advised him not to go there as his presence was sure to attract large numbers of people, and we wished to avoid big meetings. He is at present stopping with me at Anand Bhawan and will be happy to give an interview to the special correspondent of *The Leader*.

I have already written at some length and do not wish to take up more of your space. But much still remains uncorrected in *The Leader* version. I have never heard of the *Thakurain*[4] story, nor strange to say, has the Babaji.

3. A meeting of kisans, announced to be held at Unchahar in Rae Bareli district on 15 January 1921, had to be cancelled because of the order of the Deputy Commissioner.
4. *The Leader* (20 January 1921) alleged that Pandit Ramchandra had a *Thakurain* (a rich land-owning high-caste woman) from Pratapgarh as his disciple but later he fell out with her and incited his men to destroy her mango crop.

4. The Rai Bareli Tragedy[1]

History, they say, repeats itself. In the month of April, in the ever memorable year 1919, the heart of Amritsar City was soaked with the blood of Indians, slain most wantonly and cruelly, and a day or two later Sir Michael O'Dwyer blessed the deed. A year and eight months have gone by, twenty fateful months in the history of India and the British Empire. Britain still holds India even though that hold may be slackening. The British Empire still continues its iniquitous career even though it be on the brink of a precipice. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has gone but Sir Harcourt Butler,[2] the just, the wise, the sympathetic, remains to carry on the traditions of British rule and British justice. And so it is that Indian blood is again shed and the Governor hastens, without respite, without enquiry, without thought, to offer his congratulations to all concerned "and specially Sirdar Birpal Singh".[3] And the Commissioner says ditto and the Deputy Commissioner says Amen.

And what of the kisans? Poor, miserable, downtrodden men and women, ever in want, ever suffering, seldom complaining. What of them? Their blood lies on the banks of the Sai river,[4] their bodies rot under a thin layer of sand or in the open, a prey to the beasts who feast on the dead. And the living have a worse fate reserved for them. They have the police and the minions of the taluqdars torturing them and beating them and imprisoning them. Yet not a word of sympathy came from the Governor. He sat in his palace well looked after, well-fed. What did he wreak of the hungry millions? What did he care for the sorrowing widows and orphans? They were but the victims of law and order. The Pax Britannica must be preserved even though the peace it gives is the peace of the grave.

I have read with amazement many of the accounts and comments on the Rai Bareli tragedy. A fresh version appears almost daily and

1. *The Independent*, 22 January 1921.
This article deals with the police firing at Fursatganj bazar in Munshiganj, Rae Bareli on 6 and 7 January 1921, when 13 kisans were killed.
2. Member of the Indian Civil Service; at that time Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces; known to be partial to the taluqdars.
3. A Sikh taluqdar of Rae Bareli whose ancestors had migrated from the Punjab to U.P. In the Rae Bareli tragedy of 7 January 1921, he was generally believed to have fired the first shot. After the firing he was specially congratulated by the Lieutenant Governor.
4. A river flowing through Unao, Rae Bareli and Pratapgarh districts in Uttar Pradesh.

lie upon lie is piled up. Cunningly worded communiques are issued by Government and by dint of sheer repetition it is made to appear that the blame largely rests with the kisans. Even the redoubtable Sirdar Birpal Singh has ventured to deny the charges brought against him by a host of people. A little labour and some common sense will show the absurdity of many of the allegations made against the kisans. To those who know the kisans the allegations of the wrong doings must have sounded almost incredible. I have had the privilege of working for them, of mixing with them, of living in their mud-huts and partaking in all reverence of their lowly fare. And I, who for long believed in the doctrine of the sword, have been converted by the kisans to the doctrine of non-violence. I have come to believe that non-violence is ingrained in them and is part of their very nature. For long they have been too peaceful, even to the extent of submitting to evil, but now the fear of consequences is fast disappearing and their long lost courage is coming back. But they hold fast to non-violence. It is not the masses but we, nurtured in an atmosphere of the West, who talk glibly of the inefficiency of peaceful methods. The masses know the power of *Ahimsa*.

The kisans were shot at Munshiganj because they would not go away at the bidding of the Deputy Commissioner or even of Sirdar Birpal Singh. They sat there patiently regardless of threats, not fearing the serried ranks of the armed police. They offered no violence, neither were they over-awed by fear of death. They had come to help a comrade and they would not desert him. Some were cooking. The mounted police charged into the crowd and trampled many and then it is said that some threw stones. And Sirdar Birpal Singh had to fire in self-defence and the police had to fire though no one ordered it to do so. A strange story which grows stranger as the days go by.

It is easy to blame the kisans. I would beg of their critics to transplant themselves from their armchairs for a while to the banks of the river Sai and imagine what I saw on the afternoon of the 7th January. Thousands of kisans were gathered there. The police and military were near them, armed and ready for all contingencies, and on the other side of the little river blood was being shed, the blood of their kith and kin, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. What must they have thought at the time ? How behaved ? Cowards would have run away. The rash and the violent would have lost their head and charged the police and the military. And who, according to the ethics of the modern world, would have blamed them if they had sought to rescue their brethren under fire ? How would their critics have behaved ?

I know not what they thought but I saw and marvelled at their demeanour. They behaved as brave men, calm and unruffled in the face of danger. I do not know how they felt but I know what my feelings were. For a moment my blood was up, non-violence was almost forgotten—but for a moment only. The thought of the great leader, who by God's goodness has been sent to lead us to victory, came to me, and I saw the kisans seated and standing near me, less excited, more peaceful than I was—and the moment of weakness passed. I spoke to them in all humility on non-violence—I, who needed the lesson more than they—and they heeded me and peacefully dispersed. On the other side of the river, however, men lay dead and dying. It was a similar crowd with a similar object. Yet they poured their hearts' blood before they would disperse.

5. The Rai Bareli Tragedy—Truth About Sirdar's Firing[1]

Pandit Martand Dutt Vaidya[2] has been arrested and charged with having looted vegetables and lemons and damaged and removed furniture. So runs the latest message. A gentle and harmless individual, not over-venturesome, not daring too much. Yet he has been arrested and charged with a paltry theft. And his complainant is a Sirdar, not the hero of the Munshiganj firing, but a worthy cousin of his. It was Pandit Martand Dutt who sent me an urgent message to go to Rai Bareli; it was at his house that I stayed. That was crime enough. Why should the vegetables and lemons be dragged in?

The descent on Rai Bareli was ill-starred; it interfered with the well-laid plans of the powers-that-be. It upset the composure of the Deputy Commissioner, and his friend and companion Sirdar Birpal Singh. An officious person told the D.C. [Deputy Commissioner] that I was expected by the mail and suggested that I should be allowed to address the kisans and disperse them if possible. But the twins would have none of it. Was an agitator, a firebrand, to play the part of peacemaker where Government and taluqdar had jointly failed? As a limb of the law told me, they were not there to increase my prestige or to see my influence over the kisans. I arrived at the station and news of it

1. *The Independent*, 23 January 1921.
2. Martand Dutt Vaidya (1885-1957); a leading Ayurvedic doctor of Rae Bareli.

must have been swiftly carried to the D.C. for he sent me a message immediately requesting me to depart by the next train. I sent a reply assuring him that I would do no such thing unless a proper order was served on me. Firing could not have taken place then. I proceeded but unhappily I arrived just too late. The news of my approach apparently galvanised the twins and brought on the crisis. And, ever since, the thought has haunted me that perhaps I was the immediate cause of the firing. Perhaps if I had not gone there, the firing would have been delayed at least. Was it, I wonder, my approach that induced Sirdar Birpal Singh to fire "in self-defence"? But I forget the fact that the firing order was not ordered by any one. The officer-in-charge of the military expressly ordered his men not to fire. The Superintendent of Police disclaims all responsibility, the Deputy Commissioner did not do so. He says he was too confused. Was it then the Sirdar who gave the word of command or was it a case of spontaneous combustion? But whatever it was and whoever did it, it was well done. It was thoroughly justified and great credit is due to all concerned, for so say all our masters.

Truly it is an amazing thing even in this land where bureaucrats may do as they like. Incompetents may misgovern us and may shoot us down but their actions are sure to be justified and they gain the plaudits of their superiors even though the price of their folly be the lives of the innocents. The greater the folly the swifter comes the applause. The Deputy Commissioner knew that I was coming; he knew that I would probably succeed in dispersing the crowd, but he would not hold his hand, he would not wait a few minutes.

By beat of drum a red-capped chaprasi has announced that Sirdar Birpal Singh is guiltless of shedding blood. The Deputy Commissioner stands by his friend and proclaims his innocence. He was not so sure a few days ago. Soon after the firing I spoke to Birpal Singh and he gave me a short account of the firing. There was no mention there of the crowd attacking. No reference to the necessity to take offence. The D.C. said nothing on the point. Later when all Rai Bareli people were saying that Birpal Singh was guilty of the deed, he denied it utterly. Even then there was no mention of the shot fired in self-defence. The D.C. when asked stated that he could not swear whether Birpal Singh had fired or not. But the plot developed. Seeing the impossibility of a total denial, the Sirdar took refuge in "self-defence". And memory returned to the Deputy Commissioner and he proclaimed to all and said that Birpal Singh had not fired. Do they imagine that anyone believes their effusions? Do they think that by drumbeat they will instil affection for Birpal Singh in the minds of his tenantry? He has ventured to deny the charges brought against

him. But he has to answer for much more than that incident at Munshiganj. He has to answer for the suffering he has caused to his poor tenantry. He has to answer for long continued oppression, for the turning out of many kisans from their hearths and homes. Is it any wonder that there is no love for him in the hearts of his tenantry? Is it any wonder that the sight of him is anathema to them?

Yet he is their liege and he is their representative in the Provincial Council. He has gone to the Council of H.E. the Governor to fight for the rights and liberties of the constituents! I wonder if there is one person in a thousand of his constituents who trusts him or who does not bitterly dislike him.

Backed by the D.C., basking in the sunshine of the Governor's smile, he grows bold and venturous. It was not so when I saw him on the 7th of this month. He was meek and mild as a lamb. With folded hands he begged and beseeched me to leave Rai Bareli. I did not know then of his part in the affair. I had not heard of his misdeeds. I realise now why he was so desirous to have me return.

And terrorism reigns in Rai Bareli. No man is safe who has offended the taluqdar. No voter, who refrained from voting in obedience to the country's mandate, can escape the wrath of Birpal Singh or his underlings. It is but another stage in the long agony of the people. Too long have they suffered and put up with the tyranny. But the time for reckoning has come, deliverance is near. The kisans have awakened from their long slumber and all the King's horses and all the King's men will not frighten them or keep them back from their goal.

6. The New Offensive[1]

Sir,

Late on Wednesday night I received a telegram from Partabgarh, informing me that Radha Raman; Mangla Prasad and four others were being proceeded against under Section 108. Only the day before they had gone and I wondered what could have happened in 24 hours in the Partabgarh district to threaten the stability of the British *Raj*. For a while I almost feared that perhaps in a moment of excitement or

1. *The Independent*, 30 April 1921.

anger they may have given some slight cause, some nominal excuse. I was much put out by this idea. One of the first lessons that our workers have to learn is that they must not come in conflict with the authorities. Their business is to work quietly and steadily and not to land themselves unnecessarily in jail. And so I was sorry when I received the telegram from Partapgarh, fearing the cause.

But my fears were ill-founded. On arrival at Partabgarh on Thursday morning I found that their sole offence was that they had acted as messengers. They had at the bidding of their leaders taken a large number of notices and were distributing them. They were not responsible even for the wording of the leaflet.

I was glad. I rejoiced that our young colleagues had in no way erred. I asked them what they proposed doing and there was but one answer. I warned them of the consequences. I painted the life in jail in as dark colours as possible butt they did not falter. Fresh from school and colleges, life offered much to them but they did not heed the call. The playing fields beckoned to them in vain, for they had realised that there was only one game in India today worth playing, one adventure worth having—the great game with Swaraj for goal, the high adventure which leads to freedom. And so they laughed at the prospect of jail and of suffering. Gallant young fellows unused to the law, knowing nothing of courts and their ways, they stood up in the dock, where many an elder might have been afraid, and flinched not. Right bravely they answered the questions put to them and gave their final refusals to execute bonds. They put on their handcuffs and marched barefoot on the hot metalled road, but there was a smile on their lips and a song in their hearts.

Four of them are young lads of the Tilak Vidyalaya[2], Allahabad, worthy sons of a school which bears the honoured name of the Lokamanya. The fifth, Radha Raman, was one of the first students who noncooperated in Allahabad. He came to me soon after the Calcutta Special Congress and left the Law College where he was studying. A hard and enthusiastic worker, he has been one of our most valued colleagues in Allahabad. He served as a teacher in the Tilak Vidyalaya for a while and then opened a national school in Daraganj, of which he became the headmaster.

2. A national high school in Allahabad, started in 1921 for the benefit of those who had boycotted the existing educational institutions. It was inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi. Motilal Nehru was the president of its managing committee.

Mangla Prasad also came to me in the early days of noncooperation. Since then he has worked with me and has not spared himself in any task which has been entrusted to him. He stood by me on the banks of the Sai River near Munshiganj when the firing took place on the other side. He then spent some time in the Rai Bareli district and brought much comfort to the poor afflicted kisans. On the opening of the Vidyapith at Benaras he joined it as well as the Gandhi Ashram there. For the last month he has been working in Partabgarh district.

These are the persons who are confined in Partabgarh jail today, clad probably in convict's garb, herded together with criminals and rogues. They suffer for no fault of theirs. For if fault there is, it is my father's, Pandit Motilal Nehru's, above whose signature the leaflet was issued, and it is partly mine for my share in its production. Not theirs who but did our bidding. But we are not proceeded against, only the young and inexperienced are made to pay the penalty. The Germans, it was said during the war, had a special liking for killing babes and children. Has the Government of India also a *penchant* for youth? There are plenty of men still left in India in spite of a hundred and fifty years or more of British rule and they await with interest and an eagerness difficult to curb any action which the Government may take against them. I have ventured to do exactly what my young comrades did and for which they have been sent to jail. I have done the same, only more ostentatiously and after due notice to the learned judge. I know not what the result will be. I have no desire to go to jail yet, though sometimes I yearn for the rest it might give. But I have no intention of leaving my comrades in the lurch. To us, who labour, it is no pleasant thing to see our comrades removed one by one to jail and yet to remain ourselves, the favoured ones, in the comparative comfort of our houses. God grant us the strength and courage to continue on the way pointed out for us by our leaders, calmly and dispassionately, with but one goal—Swaraj within the year.

Yours etc.
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Statement in Pratap Case[1]

I came to Rai Bareli on the day when firing at Munshiganj took place. I am not positive of the date, but I think it was the 7th January 1921. When I returned from the Nagpur Congress, it was 5th January 21. Some kisans came to me at Allahabad from Rai Bareli district. They wanted me to go with them. I excused myself then, but the next day, that is the 6th January 1921, I received a telegram from Pandit Martand Vaidya stating that the situation was serious and he wanted me to go immediately. I went the next day by mail. I sent a wire to Martand Vaidya informing him that I would be coming by the mail. At the Rai Bareli station I was met by a considerable number of persons, (say three dozens of persons). I was taken to a house from the station, which I subsequently came to know was Dr. Awantika Prasad's.[2] When I got there I asked why I was summoned and what the position was; and I was told of the Fursatganj firing which had taken place a day before. I think I was also impressed that a large crowd of kisans had assembled at Munshiganj; and the Deputy Commissioner was trying to disperse them. I suggested that we should go to Munshiganj and so we proceeded. As I was leaving Pandit Awantika's, a crowd of one hundred or two hundred persons surrounded my carriage. I stood up and addressed them requesting them to be peaceful and non-violent, and not to be frightened at any display of force. As far as I remember I asked them to disperse or to go home; but I may have asked some of them to follow me.

When I proceeded to Munshiganj, I had no idea that the situation was so serious as to result in firing. I met them with an idea of holding a meeting and asking the kisans to disperse. I saw on the way to Munshiganj bridge near the jail 2 or 3 groups of kisans. They started following me, but were stopped by the sentries in front of the jail. I told them to obey the order of the sentries and to go by another road. On my way I received a small note from the Deputy Commissioner. This note asked me to leave Rai Bareli by the next train. I scribbled a reply on the back of the same paper to the effect that I

1. *The Independent*, 6 July 1921.
Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, editor, and Sheo Narayan Mishra, publisher, of the Hindi daily *Pratap* were accused of defamation. On 24 and 25 June 1921, Jawaharlal appeared as a defence witness in this case. Vidyarthi later died while trying to prevent the Hindu-Muslim riots in 1931 in Kanpur.
2. Secretary of the Rae Bareli District Congress Committee.

might be prepared to obey a formal order, but I would not go away if a request was made. Therefore I asked whether it was an order or a request. I proceeded on my way.

When I was some distance from the bridge on this side (the Rai Bareli side) of the bridge perhaps 150 yards from the bridge, some men came running up to me. They were in an excited state and they told me that firing was taking place on the other side of the bridge. I alighted from my carriage and walked towards the bridge. At the bridge-head I was stopped by some sentries who referred me to the European officer. The officer told me that he could not allow any body to go across the bridge, as firing was taking place. I went to a plot of land, on the right hand side of the road to Munshiganj; and then I asked all the men that had come with me and all the kisans to gather there. My purpose was to calm them and to tell them to go home. These persons gathered round, and the audience requested us to address them as batch after batch came from Rai Bareli side. There must have been about 2,000 men there.

In addressing them I laid stress on non-violence and I also impressed upon them that on no account should they be frightened. I told them that this was an hour of trial and they should control themselves. I am not sure whether I referred to the grievances of the kisans or to All India grievances, but I must have referred to some grievances; and I asked them to continue their struggle for redress. Those men were, as far as I remember, absolutely peaceful. I remember one or two interruptions during my speech; and the news of the firing on the other side of the bridge had affected them. I had no idea at the time as to how firing had started nor did I know who started it; and I did not say anything as to the origin of the firing. I merely told the audience that firing was taking place on the other side of the bridge upon the kisans. I may have drawn this moral from firing that Government held Indian life cheap. I think I addressed them for about twenty minutes.

A man came to me and said that the Deputy Commissioner wanted to see me. I told the audience that I was going to the Deputy Commissioner and specially appealed to them to be peaceful even if I were arrested. I then went to the Deputy Commissioner who was sitting in a motor car on the road. The Deputy Commissioner told me that he had issued an order forbidding all meetings. Therefore, he said, I was of no use at the place and should go away. I told him that if a formal order to that effect had been issued I would obey it. I also suggested that I should go back and tell the assembled kisans of the new order prohibiting meetings. Sardar Birpal Singh was sitting with the Deputy Commissioner in the same motor with him when

I had this talk with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner at first would not allow me to go back to the audience. He said he was afraid I might excite them. He permitted me to go when I pointed to him that it was in his own interest that people should be made to understand what his order was. I am not sure whether Sirdar Birpal Singh said anything to me on this first occasion; but I think he said something to me to the effect that I should accede to the Deputy Commissioner's request and leave Rai Bareli. I went back to the audience and requested them to go back home. I imagine I spoke for about four or five minutes. I went back to the Deputy Commissioner and he told me that my little address of four or five minutes had produced a good impression on the kisans. He said he wanted to have a talk with me and suggested that I should get in his car. To begin with he did not mention his house but I got into the car and it started. I asked him where we were going, and he said he was taking me to his house. In the motor the Deputy Commissioner, Sirdar Birpal Singh, and I carried on a somewhat disjointed conversation. Sirdar Birpal Singh was laying stress on the desirability of my leaving Rai Bareli; and so did the Deputy Commissioner. We went straight to the Deputy Commissioner's house. The Deputy Commissioner left me in his office room with Sirdar Birpal Singh and a senior Deputy Collector whose name I do not remember. The Deputy Collector was a Mohamadan. The Deputy Commissioner went to take his tea.

When I first saw the Deputy Commissioner near the bridge, his right hand was covered with blood. I do not think there was any blood stain on the hands of Sirdar Birpal Singh. The Deputy Commissioner and I hardly spoke to each other during the time I was at his house. I mean there was no connected conversation between us. Sirdar Birpal Singh and I exchanged a few sentences in the Deputy Commissioner's office room. The first sentence referred to the fact that we had met before; when and how I do not remember. Reference was then made to Sirdar Nihal Singh who, I believe, was a relation of Sirdar Birpal Singh and who was my contemporary at Cambridge. As far as I remember Sirdar Birpal Singh laid some stress on the aggressive attitude of the kisans at Munshiganj. On my way from Munshiganj bridge in the Deputy Commissioner's car, the Deputy Commissioner and Sirdar Birpal Singh told me that every effort had been made to disperse the kisans but they had failed to do so. I ventured to say, perhaps had I arrived in time I might have succeeded where they failed. Sirdar Birpal Singh said what could I have done when the Deputy Commissioner and others had failed. I said that I would have appealed to their heart while the Deputy Commissioner probably appealed to force.

As I have stated, I had no connected conversation with the Deputy Commissioner at his house. and I exchanged a few sentences with Sirdar Birpal Singh. No reference was made by either to their own part in the firing. It was repeatedly stated to me by the Deputy Commissioner and Sirdar Birpal Singh that the kisans would not disperse and so firing was resorted to.

Q.—Did Sirdar Birpal Singh tell you that he had been attacked by the kisans and consequently he had to fire in his self-defence and fired one shot or not?

A.—Sirdar Birpal Singh did not tell me that he had personally been attacked by the kisans; nor was any reference made to his firing at all.

I must have stayed at the Deputy Commissioner's at least for about 2 hours. The Deputy Commissioner left the house with Sirdar Birpal Singh about an hour after our arrival there. Just before leaving he asked me to remain there and to excuse him for half an hour. I protested and said that I had been there long enough. He went on insisting and thereupon I asked whether I was under arrest. He said no, and asked me to stay there, and on his return to leave the station. Sirdar Birpal Singh made the same request.

I must have stayed at the Deputy Commissioner's at least for about an hour but he did not return. Then I went away in the motor car, which the Deputy Collector who was keeping me company provided me with. In the office room, Sirdar Birpal Singh was with me on the first occasion, and perhaps he came in and out later on.

On leaving the Deputy Commissioner's house I intended going to Awantika Prashad's house. On my way I met Mr. Kismat Rai[3], who was coming towards the Deputy Commissioner's house. I stopped to speak to him and he told me he was going to the Deputy Commissioner's to see me. He added there was a rumour that I was arrested and he was going to find out if that was true and to see me if possible.

I went to Pandit Awantika Prashad and Babu Kismat Rai followed me on a bicycle. At Pandit Awantika Prashad's house I found a large number of persons, in a somewhat excited state. They were under the impression that I had been arrested. I informed them briefly of what had happened from the time I left with the Deputy Commissioner. We then discussed the day's incidents and especially the firing at Munshiganj. I was told by some persons present that the firing had been begun by Sirdar Birpal Singh. I cannot say definitely

3. A lawyer of Rae Bareli who appeared for the kisans.

what the people told me about the casualties, but undoubtedly I gathered an impression from their talk that there had been a large number of casualties as the result of the general firing. So much so, that I expressed the desire to visit the wounded the next day. As far as I remember two or three persons stated that they were on the other side of the bridge with the kisans when the firing took place and that the information they gave me was first-hand information. From Pandit Awantika Prashad's house I went to Babu Kismat Rai's house and spent the night there.

The next morning Pandit Gauri Shankar[4] and I motored down to Munshiganj and beyond for several miles. My first purpose was to see how the firing had taken place, and secondly to see the wounded whom I might come across in the neighbouring villages. Beyond the bridge we came across two wounded men in a bullock cart coming towards Rai Bareli. We spoke to them, saw their wounds and asked them about the firing. They told us that they had been fired at by Sirdar Birpal Singh. They said that he fired at them from a motor. They referred to the Munshiganj firing. We visited one or two villages some distance from the road side. I certainly saw one wounded man in one of these villages. This man certainly gave me some account as to how he had been hit, but I do not remember it in detail clearly. In every village I visited, I came across a large number of men who were full of the story of the firing. They were all very indignant at the firing and many of them accused Sirdar Birpal Singh of having started the firing. I met another wounded man on my way back to Rae Bareli who was being brought in a *doli*. He was probably not in a fit condition to converse. I do not think I enquired of him about the firing. I directed the men who were carrying him to take him to hospital.

The far end of the Munshiganj bridge had been partially blocked by a bullock cart, and a number of sentries were guarding it, on the morning of the 8th January. Sentries were also stationed on the road beyond the bridge. A sentry on horse-back stopped the men accompanying the *doli* from going towards Rae Bareli. The wounded and their attendants could go but no one who had no special business was allowed to go. On my way back I noticed a number of bodies piled up unceremoniously on a *tonga* near the Munshiganj bridge. The *tonga* was then standing without a horse by the side of the road. They

4. (1887-1955); a lawyer of Allahabad who worked as a junior of Motilal Nehru till he joined the noncooperation movement in 1921. He was also active in the kisan movement and was arrested in 1922 and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment.

looked like dead bodies. There was a cloth covering the bodies, but their legs were sticking out. I think about a dozen legs were sticking out, there may have been ten or fourteen. We returned to Rai Bareli, to Babu Kismat Rai's house.

I sent a letter by a messenger, on the 8th January 1921 to my father Pandit Motilal Nehru, informing him of what had occurred, but I did not ask him to come here. He motored to Rai Bareli and arrived here on the night of the 8th January 1921. I went to the hospital with Pandit Motilal Nehru and others in the forenoon of the 9th January 1921. We interrogated the wounded men in the hospital and saw their injuries. Some of them stated that Sirdar Birpal Singh had fired at them. I saw among these wounded the two men whom I had met coming in a bullock cart near Munshiganj bridge on the previous day. Probably I also saw the third wounded man whom I had seen in the *doli*, but I am not certain. There was quite a large crowd in the hospital, but I may mention that after our arrival, Raja Rampal Singh also came and saw the wounded. He came when we were still there. Raja Rampal Singh was especially taken to the wounded and he heard them repeat the story, namely that Sirdar Birpal Singh had fired at them. I cannot remember the details as to whether they told him that Sirdar Birpal Singh fired on them on foot or from a motor.

I went away from Rai Bareli on the night of the 9th January with Pandit Motilal Nehru.

I came to Rai Bareli again within a few days. This time I accompanied Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I now recall that I came on the 14th January 1921. I went with Malaviyaji straight from the station to Munshiganj bridge. He walked all over the area where the firing had taken place.

I wrote the article appearing in *The Independent* of the 23rd January 1921 headed "The Rai Bareli Tragedy". That article must represent my feelings and impressions at the time I wrote.

I was educated at Harrow and after that at Trinity College, Cambridge. I took my degree at Cambridge. I qualified for the Bar from the Inner Temple. I practised for some years in the Allahabad High Court.

CROSS-EXAMINATION

Cross-examined, witness said :—

I can give the names of some persons who were present probably at the house of Dr. Awantika Prashad on my return from the Deputy Commissioner's house but I cannot say the name of the person who informed me of the fact that Sirdar Birpal Singh had started the firing.

As far as I recollect, Pandit Mata Prashad[5], Dr. Awantika Prashad and Babu Kismat Rai were there. I cannot recollect the name of any other man. I have no recollection of anybody telling me of the firing by Sirdar Birpal Singh at Babu Kismat Rai's house in the same evening. I did not take down the names and addresses of my informants about Sirdar Birpal Singh's firing at Dr. Awantika Prashad's house, nor did I take down any notes of their statements. I am not aware of anybody taking any notes that night. Very likely, while I was at Dr. Awantika Prashad's house that night, I may have expressed my intention of going to Munshiganj next morning and to visit the wounded in the village nearby. Besides me and Pandit Gauri Shankar, there was Pandit Mata Prashad with me when I went to Munshiganj in the morning but there was no conveyance accompanying me. I took down the names and addresses of the two wounded in the bullock cart whom I met on the way out (on the morning of the 8th). I did not make any record, so far as I remember, of their statements regarding the firing. I attached considerable importance to the allegation that Sirdar Birpal Singh had fired. At that time, and in fact till the morning of the 9th January 1921, it never struck me that the question of Sirdar Birpal Singh's firing was open to doubt, as no news of denial reached me; and therefore I took no special pains to record anybody's statement.

Q.—What was your impression on the 7th or 8th January 1921 as to whether Sirdar Birpal Singh had fired under orders or without orders?

A.—I had no definite impression on this point. My general impression was that Sirdar Birpal Singh had taken part in the firing and had probably been the first to fire. On the morning of the 7th and 8th January 1921 I had no definite impression as to whether firing in general had taken place under orders or not, but there was a vague idea in my mind, based on reports made to me, that proper orders had not been given for firing.

Q.—Would it have made any difference to you, had the firing taken place under proper orders or without order?

A.—The question of firing by military or police on the civil population depends on the circumstances attending the particular firing. The fact that the order to fire was or was not given is one of the circumstances in the case. In a properly regulated state the presumption is that the firing is only resorted to when it is absolutely necessary. That

5. Vice-President of the Rae Bareli District Congress Committee.

presumption does not apply to firing in India at present. Therefore the fact that the order to fire had or had not been given would not have weighed with me much.

Q.—Since you were inquiring into the matter, what was there to prevent you from seeing Birpal Singh and asking him to tell you his version of the incident of the firing?

A.—I was rather chary of going near any of the officials in order to make inquiries and as, to my knowledge, Sirdar Birpal Singh was mostly with the Deputy Commissioner, I did not think it worth while to go to him. I knew he was so closely connected with the Deputy Commissioner that he was half an official himself. My object in making such inquiry as I was making was to encourage the kisans and to drive out any fear that may have been instilled in them by firing. I did not intend the punishment of any culprits. The process that I adopted then and subsequently was to interview the kisans individually and collectively and by means of personal conversation strengthen them.

Q.—Was it or was it not the object of your inquiry to find out how and by whom the firing was started and whether it was under orders or not?

A.—I did not hold any proper inquiry on the 8th of January 1921. My object then was simply to give relief to the wounded and to hearten them. On the 9th, when I heard that Sirdar Birpal Singh had denied the allegation made against him, I had to inquire into the matter as to who started the firing or not. I met both the wounded in the hospital and the people outside on the 9th. From the wounded and the people I inquired as to whether the firing was under orders or not.

At the time of our visit to hospital on 9th January 1921, Pandit Gauri Shankar was asked by Pandit Motilal Nehru to note down the names and addresses of the wounded there. We went probably at about 11 a.m. Large number of persons came to see Pandit Motilal Nehru on the morning of the 9th January 1921.

I cannot give definitely the names of the persons who came to see Pandit Motilal Nehru on the morning of 9th January 1921. We must have decided to visit the hospital probably in the morning of the 9th January 1921. People who came to see Pandit Motilal Nehru must have heard that we were going to the hospital.

I presume that Dr. Awantika Prashad and Mata Prashad must have been frequent visitors to Pandit Motilal Nehru during our stay at Rai Bareli, but I cannot definitely say so from memory. When I returned from Munshiganj on the 8th January 1921, I heard that Martand Dutta Vaidya had gone from Rai Bareli. He may have come back by the evening of the 8th January 1921, but I am not positive.

My general propaganda is for noncooperation. On the morning of the 8th January 1921 I merely motored through and did not alight from the motor until I had to walk over the scene of the firing. A Labour Corps man came up to Pandit Malaviya during our visit to the scene of the firing on the 14th January 1921. I remember that he came to us and told us as to where Birpal Singh stood when he fired. I think he told us that Birpal Singh left the Deputy Commissioner in or near the car and marching ahead a few paces fired into the crowd.

Questioned regarding his adherence to noncooperation witness said, "I want every resident of India to join the noncooperation movement."

RE-EXAMINATION

In re-examination, witness said :—

On the 9th January 1921, as a matter of fact Pandit Gauri Shankar took down very brief statements of the wounded in the hospital, especially as to whether Birpal Singh fired or did not fire.

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Questioned regarding his adherence to noncooperation, witness said: "I want every resident of India to join the noncooperation movement."

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On the 9th January 1921, as a matter of fact Pandit Gauri Shankar took down very brief statements of the wounded in the hospital, especially as to whether Birpal Singh fired or did not fire.

4

NONCOOPERATION

1. Prison Diary[1]

जवाहरलाल नेहरू

Jawaharlal Nehru

District Jail

Lucknow

From Dec. 3rd 1921

1. N.M.M.L.
Mahatma Gandhi began his first non-violent noncooperation campaign on 1 August 1920. Jawaharlal played an important part in organising the campaign in his home province, and he and his father were arrested on 6 December 1921.
The full text of the diary maintained by Jawaharlal during his first term in prison is reproduced.

This diary was begun on December 9th 1921—the great hartal day in Lucknow—at 8.30 a.m. The book is a present from Dr. Asharfi Lal the sub-assistant surgeon of the jail. I begin this diary from Dec. 3rd.

On the 3rd December I visited Lucknow—attended the Council meeting and the Volunteer Board meeting. In the evening Khaliquzzaman[2] & I and some others motored all over the city distributing hartal notices—created quite a sensation in the town. Returned to Allahabad by the night train.

Dec. 4th—a busy day—went to the Provincial office early—found it locked as it was Sunday. Got it opened and with the help of Kamaluddin,[3] Jia Ram[4] & Sitla Sahai,[5] prepared some urgent circulars for District Congress Committtees etc. Drafted communique on behalf of Council about Volunteer Corps. A challenge to Govt. which it has at last taken up. Father and Purushottam made some changes and then it was sent late at night to *The Independent.* A weight was taken off my mind. We had openly taken up the gage of battle thrown by Govt. The way was straight and clear now.

Dec. 5th Monday

The "Ind" with its brave head line over our communique and the list of names delighted the heart. Kapil Deo[6] came in the morning with Chand Mal[7] of Agra. He saw the communique and said that I had made the way to jail clear for the 75. Perhaps he did not realise how soon his words would come true.

The whole day in office—feverish activity to finish off as much work as possible before the jail opened its gates for us. Returned late in evening very tired. Was reading in bed at about 9 p.m. when news

2. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman (1889-1973); a leading Congressman of the United Provinces till 1937, when he joined the Muslim League, author of *Pathway to Pakistan.*
3. Moulvi Kamaluddin Jafri; prominent Congress leader from Allahabad.
4. Jia Ram Saxena (b. 1891); a barrister and leading Congressman of Bareilly; general secretary of U.P. Provincial Congress Committee 1921; interned December 1921 to January 1923.
5. A kisan worker and Congressman of Rae Bareli district. He took a leading part in the no-rent agitation of the thirties.
6. Kapildev Malaviya; nephew of Pandit M. M. Malaviya; a leading criminal lawyer from Allahabad; he played a leading part in the noncooperation movement. He was Chairman, Allahabad Municipal Board in 1925.
7. A prominent lawyer of Ajmer, and, in his early days, a Congressman.

came of Kapil Deo's arrest. Thus began the new chapter in Allahabad. I was surprised to note how little this news affected me. Months of expectation and preparation had removed all element of surprise. As father said the net was closing and our turn was next. My mind was full of the work of the office which I should do before I was removed to jail. I calculated that another 48 hours would be ample for me to finish my work. I therefore decided to go to Lucknow as promised on the night of the 7th. I expected arrest then.

December 6th Tuesday

Got up very early—about 4 a.m. Wound up Jallianwala actts and Swaraj Sabha accounts. Wrote some other important letters. Proceeded to city—saw Purushottam and others. Spent some time in office —went to District Court to attend Kapil Deo's trial. Many of us went on *ekkas* towards Curzon bridge and met Kapil Deva there. Kapil was of course most cheerful but I was surprised to note the good spirits of the others arrested with Kapil Deva—A good omen.

The trial was marred by some members of the public indulging in boisterousness—an unseemly exhibition in court. The poor judge in a bad way. He appeared to be the convict and the prisoners the judges. All the prisoners presented a brave attitude—one or two erring on the side of bravado. Sentence not pronounced.

I proceeded to office with the intention of remaining there till late in the evening. Disposed of some correspondence. Addressed a number of volunteers from Tilak Vidyalaya. Started drafting rules of volunteer corps[8]. News came that the police had come to search the office. The office people began to get excited and to crowd together. Told them to carry on their work without paying any attention to searches or other interruptions. On interviewing police officer found that he had a warrant for searching Tilak Ashram. Told him to proceed with his business. Kamaluddin accompanied him. Evidently some mistake had been made by the police. They were under the impression that the whole building, including the P.C.C. office, was styled the Tilak Ashram. As it was, under the warrant they could search only two living rooms which had a few *charkhas*, a carpet and little else. Meanwhile I proceeded with my work in the P.C.C. office.

8 The volunteer corps was in November 1921 declared an illegal association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Jawaharlal was convicted for organising it in U.P.

Ranendranath Basu[9] then turned up and informed us that his turn had come and that he was under arrest. Rather unexpected. I was writing to Khaliquzzaman at the time informing him that I would arrive in Lucknow on the morning of the 8th. I finished the letter and had it despatched and then had a short talk with Ranu. It did not dawn on me even then that there was going to be a general round up. Just then Kamaluddin said that he had heard that all the 75 P.C.C. signatories of the Volunteer manifesto were being arrested. News also brought that Purushottam Das arrested. Some one also said that Anand Bhawan was being searched. I then realised that my turn had also come. I addressed a few words to a small crowd which had gathered round Ranu's car and requested Sitla Sahai to look after the Provincial Office. The police were waiting outside evidently expecting a new search warrant for the P.C.C. office. Kamaluddin went off to the Khilafat office as he heard that it was being searched. Just then Bechu arrived from Anand Bhawan. He had been sent by father with the news that the house was being searched & that I should return. I motored back with Rabindranath Banerji[10] in his car. Even he, confirmed moderate as he is, was somewhat put out by the happenings.

Arrived at Anand Bhawan at about 6.30 p.m. Found the family gathered together in father's room. Father having his evening bread & milk and giving general directions for the future. I heard that Mohan Bhai[11], Shama Bhai[12] & Joseph[13] had been arrested. On the whole every one was taking matters very cheerfully. Only mother had a lost expression. Kamala behaved admirably. Indira[14] made quite a nuisance of herself objecting to her food and generally getting on people's nerves.

The *Kotwal* was searching the All I.C.C. office. This lasted some time. Father and I dictated some messages to the public. Quite a

9. A lawyer of Allahabad and a leading Congressman, was imprisoned in December 1921.
10. A doctor at Allahabad and a member of the Municipal Board.
11. Mohanlal Nehru.
12. Shamlal Nehru (1879-1934); son of Nandlal Nehru and Jawaharlal's cousin. He took part in the protests that followed the arrest of Annie Besant in 1917. In later years, however, he parted company with his uncle and cousin.
13. George Joseph (1887-1938); a barrister of Madurai who served for a time as editor of *Young India* and of *The Independent;* took a leading part in the Vaikom Satyagraha; left the Congress in 1924 and returned to it in 1935.
14. Shrimati Indira Gandhi (b. 1917); organised *vanara sena* (monkey brigade), a children's organisation sponsored by the Congress in the thirties; took an active interest in student movement in 1937; married Feroze Gandhi (d. 1960); was imprisoned in 1942; Congress President, 1959-60; Minister for Information and Broadcasting, 1964-66; Prime Minister of India since January 1966.

crowd gathered outside. Father addressed it and so did I. Eventually father & I accompanied by the *Kotwal* went by motor to the District Jail, Allahabad. On the way the *Kotwal* mentioned that I would probably have to go to Lucknow the same night as my warrant came from Lucknow. At the District Jail I parted from father. The *Kotwal* & I then proceeded to the S. P.'s house. I was kept waiting in the car outside for half an hour. Then a European inspector came with me and took me to Phaphamow station arriving there at about 9.30 p.m. Waited there till 11.15 p.m. Then travelled to Lucknow by the night train in a 1st class compartment accompanied by the European inspector and 5 policemen.

Dec. 7th

At Lucknow station the S.P. met us. An offensive person. Came in a prison motor van accompanied by 12 policemen to District Jail, Lucknow. Arrived here at 7 a.m. Was kept waiting in hall for 2 hours because, I was told, a warrant for me had not come.

At about 9 Khaliq and many others came out to interview Hakim Abdul Qavi[15] and others. They saw me and carried me back with them to their barrack.

Shauna[16] came to see me a little later.

I found the following inside the barrack:

1. Khaliquzzaman
2. Hakim Abdul Wali[17]
3. Balmukund Bajpai[18]
4. Mohan Lal Saxena[19]
5. M. Salamatulla[20]

Under trial

15. A noncooperator from Allahabad.
16. Shrimati Shivrajvati Nehru, wife of Krishanlal Nehru.
17. Joint Secretary of the Muslim League and Oudh Khilafat Committee and in charge of the National Volunteer Corps; was sentenced in December 1921 for distributing pamphlets calling for a hartal.
18. Member of the Lucknow District Congress Committee; was sentenced in December 1921 to six months' simple imprisonment and ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 100.
19. (1896-1965); joined the noncooperation movement in 1920; member, U.P. Legislative Council and chief whip, Swaraj Party, 1924-26; General Secretary, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, 1928-35; took a leading part in organising the boycott of the Simon Commission in Lucknow in December 1928; Minister for Rehabilitation, Government of India, 1948-50.
20. Moulvi Salamatullah; member of Lucknow Town Congress Executive Committee, and of U.P. Provincial Congress Committee; President, Oudh Khilafat Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to one year's simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200.

6. Shaikh Shaukat Ali[21]
7. Dr. Lakshmi Sahai[22]
8. Dr. Shivaraj Narain Saxena[23]
9. Lal Bahadur Tripathi[24]

and the following convicts :

1. Dr. Ibrahim Hai of Pilibhit[25]
(1 year Sec 108
since 19/3/21)
2. Radha Krishna Bhargava of Muttra[26]
(1 year Sec 108
since 7/10/21)
3. Madan Mohan Chaturvedi of Muttra[27]
(Sec 124.
since July 1921)
4. Maqsud Alum of Pilibhit[28]
(1 year Sec 108
since 7/11/21)
5. L. Sri Gopal of Lucknow[29]
(Sec. 124 & 153
1½ years & fine
since June, 21)

21. Shaikh Mohammad Shaukat Ali; President, Lucknow District Congress Committee; Secretary, Oudh Khilafat Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to six months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100.
22. Manager of the National School at Lucknow and Vice-President of the Town Congress Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100.
23. Joint Secretary of the Lucknow Town Congress Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100.
24. Manager of the Khadi Ashram at Lucknow and member of the Congress Volunteer Corps; sentenced in December 1921 to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100.
25. A noncooperator of Pilibhit, imprisoned on 19 March 1921 on his refusal to execute a bond for good behaviour.
26. President, District Congress Committee, Mathura; arrested in October 1921.
27. Sentenced in June 1921 to one year's rigorous imprisonment including two months' solitary confinement.
28. Member, United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee; sentenced in November 1921 to one year's simple imprisonment.
29. Sentenced in June 1921 to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100.

2. Message on Occasion of First Arrest[1]

To my colleagues of the U.P. Congress Committee :
Some days ago you did me the high honour of appointing me the General Secretary of the Committee. I have not been able to serve you in that capacity for long. Today a higher honour and a greater service await me and I welcome it with the conviction that you will carry on the work of the Committee more vigorously and successfully than my co-secretaries and I were able to do. It has pleased Providence to give this province a chance of leading the fight for liberty. May you, the representatives of the people, prove worthy of this high trust. The work of the Provincial Committee must on no account suffer, workers from the districts must come to the headquarters and keep the flag flying at the citadel. I trust that there will be a full attendance of members at the General Meeting on the 13th in Allahabad.

Theirs will be a great responsibility. May God guide their deliberations and give them strength and wisdom. One thing I would have you remember. There can be no compromise or parleying with evil. This struggle must and can only end in complete victory for the people. Any weakening, any giving up of principles will be a betrayal of the thousands who have given of their best for the cause.

Au Revoir! We meet again, I hope, as free men.

MESSAGE TO THE CITIZENS OF ALLAHABAD

Friends,—I go to jail with the greatest pleasure, and with the fullest conviction that therein lies the achievement of our goal. Forget not that there is a complete hartal on the 12th instant, and that it is the duty of every man to enrol himself as a volunteer. The most important thing is to preserve complete peace and an atmosphere of non-violence. In your hands is the honour of Allahabad, and I hope it is quite safe therein. I trust you will always be in the firing line in the battle of Swaraj and make the name of our city immortal in our annals,—I am, your friend,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *The Independent*, 8 December 1921.

3. Message to the United Provinces[1]

Men and women of the United Provinces :

We are in jail, but we are most happy for we know that you are carrying on the great fight. We know that you have responded to the great call. The great cities of Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares, have demonstrated your determination. You are today making history which your children and your children's children, freed for ever from a foreign yoke, will glory in and unborn generations will bless your name. We pray for you. May the Lord bless you and give you strength to fight on and on till victory crowns your sacrifices.

To our own city of Allahabad what shall we say? How shall we who are of it, congratulate it or its brave citizens? The great and peaceful hartal, the march of hundreds of its children to jail and the enrolment of thousands in the army of Swaraj fill us with joy and hope. Our hearts are too full for many words. We can but offer our prayerful thanks to the Giver of all strength. May the flag of freedom that Allahabad has unfurled ever fly and the sons and daughters of our city come forward in an unending stream to sacrifice themselves at the altar of Swaraj.

1. Given to the representative of *The Independent* by Jawaharlal on behalf of Motilal Nehru, Purushottamdas Tandon, Syed Kamaluddin Ahmad Jaffri, Ranendra Nath Basu and himself. Published on 18 December 1921.

4. A Note on the Organization of the Noncooperation Movement[1]

1. The meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee convened for December 13 must be held in spite of Government prohibitions. Only members should be admitted.

1. Govt. of India, Home (Political) Proceeding No. 767 of 1922, National Archives of India.

A confidential C.I.D. report of 19.12.21 states that "an interesting note of 6½ typewritten pages has been recovered during a search of the Provincial Congress Office at Allahabad. It must have been written by Jawaharlal Nehru in the jail lock-up between December 9 and 12. and is addressed to members of the Provincial Congress Committee. A pencil note on the top of the letter states that the imprisoned leaders agree with the views expressed".

2. Office-bearers should be elected in jail vacancies. Men in jail should be considered to be on leave and on their release those appointed in their stead should automatically revert. A rule to this effect should be passed.

3. There is a possibility that all 73 signatories to the volunteer pledge[2] may be arrested. As in that case all office holders, except Prof. Kripalani[3], will be imprisoned, the Provincial Committee must draw on the District Congress Committees for workers. If Murari Lal[4] and Jia Ram are still at large the responsibility of the work of the Provincial Committee will fall on them. Raj Bahadur[5] and Kripalani are also suggested as likely Secretaries. Mela Ram[6] of Saharanpur is also recommended for secretary-ship as being a man of experience with powers of organization. Other suggestions are Jhuman Lal[7] of Saharanpur and Beni Madho[8] of Hardoi. The names of Khwaja Abdul Majid and Maulana Masud Ali[9] are not suggested owing to the excellent work which they are doing in Aligarh, and Azamgarh. They should be left there to organise.

3. (A) A treasurer should be elected. Mrs. Mohan Lal Nehru is suggested for this post and arrangements are said to have already been

2. The pledge, as formulated by the Congress Working Committee in November 1921, read as follows :
"So long as I remain in any volunteer organization I shall faithfully and diligently carry out all the instructions received from my superiors. I shall observe the pledge of non-violence in words and in deed, and shall inculcate the spirit of non-violence amongst others. I shall regard the pledge as binding upon me so long as the policy of non-violence is continued by the nation. I shall run all risks attendant upon the performance of my duty".
3. Acharya J. B. Kripalani (b. 1888); General Secretary of the Indian National Congress 1934-46 and President, 1946. He later resigned from the Congress and was one of the founders of the Congress Democratic Front and later of the Praja Socialist Party.
4. Dr. Murari Lal Rohatgi, a leading doctor of Kanpur, who in 1905 resigned from Government service and started private practice. He became the chief organiser of Congress activities in Kanpur and the neighbouring districts. Was imprisoned five times in connection with the national movement and was chairman of the reception committee at the Kanpur session of the Congress in 1925.
5. An advocate of Etah district who had been a loyalist but renounced all his titles and joined the noncooperation movement in 1920.
6. (1875-1967); a leading lawyer of Saharanpur.
7. An advocate of Saharanpur.
8. A wealthy merchant.
9. Maulana Masud Ali Nadvi; a member of the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, from its foundation in 1915 till his death in 1967. A supporter of the Congress and the Khilafat movement.

made to transfer the balance of U.P. Provincial Congress funds to her name. A sum of Rs. 50,000/- sanctioned by Pandit Motilal Nehru for payment to Provincial Committees should be obtained from Seth Jamna Lal[10], treasurer of the All-India Committee. It is pointed out as desirable that some of the Congress funds should be kept elsewhere than at the Allahabad Bank.

4. District and Town Committees should elect representatives for the Provincial Congress Committee in jail vacancies without delay.

5. The Provincial Congress Committee should arrange for the council to discharge its functions in case of need. The possibility that Martial Law may be introduced is suggested; even then the work must be carried on without hitch.

6. Delegates must be elected for the Ahmedabad Congress both by the Provincial Committee and by District Committees. As delegates are arrested their places should be filled. The province must be strongly represented. The test of quality is the signing of the volunteer pledge. Let those who sign this be elected delegates.

7. All the old members of the Volunteer Board being in jail, a new Provincial Volunteer Board will have to be appointed by the Committee as the fight is centering on the question of volunteers. The best workers should be appointed to this Board.

8. Lucknow is to be congratulated on its magnificent hartal on December 9 in spite of police intimidation and horse whipping of workers by police sergeants. Equal success is expected in Allahabad. Both cities should be congratulated by the Provincial Committee.

9. Lucknow and Allahabad should be congratulated on their response to the call for volunteers. Allahabad is said to have given a thousand and more are said to be daily coming forward. Malihabad is noted as having specially distinguished itself and the figure there on December 8 is said to have been 2160.

10. All Congress workers should devote their energies to the enrolling of volunteers and the filling of jails by this means. They should enrol volunteers and their names should be published in the press. The law regarding volunteer associations must be broken as openly and as often as possible. The idea that men should be kept out of jail to carry on work outside should be discarded.

11. So far as the enrolling of volunteers is concerned, Section 144 should be disobeyed. Large gatherings should be avoided if forbidden, as violence may occur then but where there is a sufficient number of

10. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj (1889-1942); a wealthy financier who became a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi and was for many years treasurer of the Congress.

volunteers Section 144 may be disobeyed in so far as small gatherings are concerned. No disobedience should occur when there is a danger of breach of the peace. The decision regarding disobedience of orders under Section 144 should be left to District Committees and in the case of towns of over 50000 inhabitants to Town Committees. A start should be made at Allahabad and Lucknow which have become the two storm centres. Other likely places are Azamgarh, described as a "Congress Stronghold", and Dehra Dun "which also promises well". Only persons who have signed the volunteer pledge will be allowed to offer Civil Disobedience.

12. Other activities must recede into the background but still be carried on. Success must be measured by the number of volunteers and by the number in jail.

13. Police duties should be entrusted to volunteers but only when there is a large supply. To begin with picked men should be stationed at street corners in couples. They should assist the public in every way, give information, get conveyances and afford protection. They must on no account provoke a conflict with the police. If arrested they must march quietly away. This work should begin on a small scale and then be extended.

The note concludes with a remark that there was difference of opinion amongst leaders regarding the publication of the names of all volunteers but Motilal Nehru and the majority agree that full publicity should be given. All the above should be considered by the Council on the morning of December 13 and detailed directions on the points raised in the note should be sent to all District and *Tahsil* Congress Committees. Only the main resolutions and not the full directions should be sent to the press.

5. Message on His Release from Prison[1]

I do not know why I have been released. My father, who is suffering from asthma, and many hundreds of my comrades are still in jail. I have only this to say—keep on fighting, keep on working for independent India and do not rest. Do not forsake your ideals. Do not go in for false compromises. Continue to follow our great leader Mahatma Gandhi and remain loyal to the Congress. Be active, be organised and remember above all, the *Charkha* and *Ahimsa*.

1. *Aaj*, 10 March 1922. Original in Hindi.
Jawaharlal was released on technical grounds, after serving only 87 days, which was less than half his sentence.

6. Instructions to Workers of U.P. Congress Committee[1]

1. The attention of all workers is drawn to the following instructions issued by Mahatma Gandhi :—
   (i) The cornerstone of noncooperation being non-violence, workers are expected to refrain from violence alike in word and deed.
   (ii) Workers should not countenance violence in word or deed among those with whom they come in contact.
   (iii) Propaganda consists not in pointing out the defects of British rule but in pointing out the means of remedying those defects.
   (iv) Emphasis should therefore be placed more upon what the people should do than on why they should do it.
   (v) Social boycott in the shape of stopping the service of barbers, dhobis, medical help, conveyances should be discouraged.
   (vi) Big meetings should be avoided.
   (vii) People should be advised to observe perfect silence at meetings and to refrain from pressing towards the centre.
   (viii) Workers should rely more upon personal canvassing than upon speeches.
   (ix) Personal canvassing should consist merely in placing the argument in favour of particular items of noncooperation.
   (x) Cooperators should be approached in a friendly spirit.
   (xi) All police orders should be scrupulously obeyed. It should be remembered that civil disobedience remains suspended.
   (xii) People should be told clearly that suspension of payment of taxes or resignation on a national scale of Government service whether military or civil has not yet been commenced and should not be resorted to.
   (xiii) In the event of disputes between zemindars and ryots, they should be settled by friendly discussion or intervention. Pending establishment of Swaraj we must bear out our disabilities as far as possible.
2. The strengthening of the Indian National Congress organization is the most important work before us. Workers should, therefore, study carefully the new constitution and the new rules framed by the Provincial Committee and concentrate on enrolling members of Congress Committees.

1. This incomplete note, in Jawaharlal's handwriting, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (Ms. No. 138b), was clearly written sometime after his release in March 1922.

3. Village Congress circles should elect an executive committee or *Panchayat*. This *Panchayat* should be responsible for :
   1. Settlement of disputes in the village.
   2. Primary education of every child—male or female.
   3. Introduction of spinning wheels in every home.
   4. Hygiene and sanitation of the village.
   5. Promotion of Hindu Muslim unity.
   6. The raising of the suppressed classes and the infusion of democratic and brotherly ideas amongst the people.
   7. Carrying out of all other items of noncooperation resolution and other resolutions of the Congress so far as they apply to the village.
4. Each village *panchayat* shall as far as possible consist of representatives of each important caste in the village.
5. Volunteers or workers from outside should not accept the office of President, Secretary or Treasurer, in any village or *tahsil* Congress Committees. They should act as advisers and give all possible help to the local leaders or *panches.*
6. Congress Committees or circles should work in harmony with the branches of the Kisan Sabha. In many villages a *panchayat* has already been established by the kisan sabha, and the same *panchayat* will probably serve as the Congress executive for the village.

7* Workers should always consult the *panches* and other leaders of the various castes in the village before starting work there.

8. Workers must remember that the collection of money for the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund[2] is an essential part of our work. They must therefore make every effort to raise funds but the greatest care must be taken about these monies. Complaints are frequently made of the mishandling of public funds and many unscrupulous persons are deluding the villagers and making collections in the name of the Congress. It is therefore necessary that only those persons who are thoroughly reliable and known should personally collect money. As a rule donations should be sent direct to the secretary or treasurer of the Provincial or District Committee—small sums may be deposited with the treasurer or mahajan of the village *panchayat.* Volunteers should as far as possible not handle funds. Receipts should be issued for all sums received and proper accounts kept.

2. The All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund was started in 1920 in memory of Lokamanya Tilak who died that year, for financing the National Service and the noncooperation movement. The Fund was administered by the various Provincial Congress Committees and the All India Congress Committee.

9. Workers should refrain as far as possible from making regular speeches. There is too great a tendency for speechifying. We must talk less and do more.
10. Workers should send frequent (at least once a week) reports of the work done to their respective committees.
11. Above all each volunteer and worker must remember that he can do more for the cause by his personal example and behaviour than by any number of brave speeches and processions. He must be utterly non-violent in word and deed. He must be disciplined and brave, he must wear pure Swadeshi *khaddar*[3] or *garha*, he must discard luxuries and all evil habits. He must learn humility and toleration. He must not excite people by frenzied oratory or unreserved denunciation of opponents; rather must he inspire hope and confidence by his own faith and strength. And if, in the performance of his duty, he has to suffer or go to jail he should meet his fate smilingly—not afraid and yet not melodramatically posing as a martyr.

7(a)* In towns also workers should approach the heads of each caste or class of people and through them the rank & file. *Panchayat* . . . .

3. Home-spun cloth. Mahatma Gandhi made hand-spinning an integral part of the Congress programme. The primary object of this programme was to provide employment in rural India, but it had wider political implications. The spinning wheel became the symbol of India's aspiration to free herself from British domination, and *khaddar*, in Jawaharlal's phrase, 'the livery of freedom'.

7. Terrorism in Sitapur District[1]

We visited the district of Sitapur on behalf of the Provincial Congress Committee on the 11th April. One of us, Jawaharlal Nehru, could only spend one day in the interior of the district; the other, Mohanlal

1. A.I.C.C. File No. 5/1922, N.M.M.L.
Report of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohanlal Saxena after a preliminary enquiry into the allegations of excesses committed by employees of the Court of Wards, the police and others in Sitapur district on 27 April 1922.

Saxena, remained there for two days. During this short time however we succeeded in visiting a considerable number of villages and of satisfying ourselves of the truth of many of the allegations made. We were assisted in our work by the President and some members of the District Congress Committee of Sitapur.

A quarter of the area we visited is under the Court of Wards and most of the allegations of ill-treatment made were against the employees of the Court of Wards. The police also came in for their share of blame and many complaints were made to us of wholesale bribery and extortion. A column of Sikh troops was also marched through the district but we received no complaints of their behaviour. Their conduct was generally approved and appreciated by the people and contrasts were made between their attitude and that of the Court of Wards employees and the police. The contrasts were very much to the disadvantage of the latter two.

In some villages we had difficulty in getting the residents to give evidence. The women were thoroughly frightened and the men were in fear of the Court of Wards officials and employees. Some men indeed had left their villages and wandered about in the neighbourhood not daring to return. One man, from the statement we possess, had been badly beaten and had fled from his village lest worse should befall him. He had left his wife and family nearly a month before and they had had no news of him since.

We saw marks of *lathi* blows on men; and boxes and trunks, which had been forcibly broken open were produced before us. One of us, Mohanlal Saxena, personally saw the remains of houses and huts which had been burnt down.

The usual complaint was that a large number of persons varying from 200 to 500 and more would come to a village. These would consist of some Court of Wards employees, a few policemen and probably a number of the hooligans and bad characters of the district. The special manager of the Court of Wards, Mr. Dunne, would sometimes accompany this motley assembly. At first sight of this approaching throng, many villagers would take fright and run away from their huts. Some villages were thus wholly deserted and the dacoits in the crowd had an easy time of it in breaking open boxes and removing such articles as they took a fancy for. Under the circumstances it is not possible to fix upon the actual persons who indulged in this looting. No proper identification can take place and we cannot fix responsibility.

In some large villages the villagers stuck to their posts and decided to defend their homes in case of attack. This attitude impressed the dacoits sufficiently and they turned away without any conflict.

We were told of a number of criminal proceedings started against

volunteers and *panches*. These charges had no foundation in fact and the sole crime of the men concerned was that they were volunteers or members of *panchayats*.

We give below a short summary of the reported excesses in the villages visited by us.

It is merely intended to give a sample of what occurred on a larger scale in many villages in Sitapur. The list of property stolen or looted is also approximate. Many of the owners had left their villages and were too afraid to give us a detailed statement. But it is clear from even our short survey that most of the allegations made by the people of Sitapur were based on facts and that the terrorism in parts of the district was of a particularly objectionable kind. The proclamation and application of Martial Law could not have made the conditions prevailing in these villages any worse than they were. A deliberate war has been waged against the Congress and Khilafat movement and special efforts have been made to stamp out the use of *khaddar*. We cannot say, with the evidence at our disposal, as to who was the originator or director of this attack. It is clear however that the bad characters of the district took full advantage of the situation and under cover of fighting noncooperation, indulged in wholesale looting confident in the belief, justified by after events, that the authorities would not interfere or take any action against them.

We have endeavoured to confine ourselves to such facts as have been ascertained personally by one of us. Our enquiry has been necessarily incomplete and we would respectfully recommend to the Provincial Congress Committee to take steps to complete this enquiry. It has come to our knowledge that even our two days' visit to the affected area has brought some relief to the much harassed and long suffering villagers. In some cases, it is said that the bribes which had been previously extorted have been returned.

Kauraiya — A village in Katesar *Ilaqa* under the management of the Court of Wards. The special manager accompanied by a large number of persons including policemen, employees of the Court of Wards and others visited this village in April. The villagers were brought just outside the village where the special manager and the police had stationed themselves. The villagers were told of the many and various ills they were reported to be guilty of, and if they did not reform themselves and leave, they would be punished. Meanwhile, a part of the crowd entered the houses breaking open locks and boxes and carried on looting on a large scale. Any person who protested was repeatedly ducked in a pond. A few articles stolen were :—

From a tailor :—	18 pieces of cloth for sale	..	30/-/-
	12 .. .. (personal)	..	36/-/-
	Cash.	.. ..	100/-/-
	Ornaments.	..	49/-/-
	One *handi* of *ghi.*	..	5/-/-
	Spectacles, Scissors etc.	..	2/-/-
			222/-/-
From a weaver :—	3 *thans.*	.. ..	14/-/-
	Cash.	.. ..	13/-/-
	Dohar.	.. ..	6/-/-
	Lahanga.	.. ..	5/-/-
	Coat.	.. ..	4/-/-
	Dhoti.	.. ..	2/8/-
			44/8/-
From another :—	½ *than Tanzeb.*	..	5/14/6
	18 *than Garha.*	..	55/-/-
			60/14/6

(The valuations given are those of the owners).

Chuchia — 2 miles from Kauraiya, also visited by Mr. Dunne and several hundred men. Looting of houses and general maltreatment of inhabitants. One man who admitted being a volunteer had a *Salooka* of *garha* torn from his back and was beaten with a stick. The marks of the beating still are visible. People were afraid of making statements.

Manoopur—People were forcibly collected and told not to form *Panchayats* and not to become volunteers. The villagers refused to permit outsiders to enter their huts and by their bold attitude saved themselves.

Rossipur (Kalan)—Four miles from Laharpur—visited by employees of the Court of Wards, policemen and others in April. Most villagers fled from the area. Broken boxes were produced before us. Injuries were shown on the persons of women. A *karinda* of the village was present at the time of our enquiry and was questioned and said that there had been looting in the village. Soon after the looting, on the same day, he had been asked by the *Sarbarakar* to return a few clothes, which had been looted, to their owner, which he did.

Some of the articles stolen were :—

Three *hanslis* (ornament)	..	
Three pairs of *tarias* (ornament)		
Cash	.. ..	Rs. 94/8/-
2 *Karanphool* (ornament)		
Kangan (ornament)	.. ..	50/-
Hamail. Do	.. ..	24/-
Paizeb Do	.. ..	40/-
Chara Do	.. ..	60/-
Nagrahi Do	.. ..	10/-
Some opium.		
Clothes.		
Urad.	..	7 *seers* 8 *chataks.*

Bijaisipur—We did not visit this village but we took down statements of residents who came to us. The usual motley crowd consisting of Court of Wards employees, policemen and others visited the village. Money was demanded otherwise plunder was threatened. No money was given on the first day. The next day summons under Sec. 160 of Act V of 1898 were served on some persons. Others were told that summons would come for them also unless they gave money. Various threats were used and eventually money was extorted from many persons.

Chinsura—Two men of this village had been beaten and deprived of *khaddar salukas* and caps because they were volunteers. Their crops had been cut down and removed by others. They had been threatened with all kinds of penalties if they continued to reside in their village. In consequence they had not gone back to their village for over a month.

Birjabasika purwa—A small village—Court of Wards employees and others visited the village on or about* * * * On learning of the impending visit, most of the inhabitants, the women specially, were sent away to another village. Evidence of looting and maltreatment of those who had remained. Jewels were removed from the body of a girl.

Some of the articles stolen :—

One pair *karanphool*
One pair *Jhumak*
One pair *taria*
One *Lahanga, angarkha, anga, chadra,* 3 *tobazia,* one kerchief.
1 blanket, 1 *lathi;* 1 shirt; 1 *dhoti,* 2 kerchiefs; 1 turban; 1 pair new shoes; 1 *mirzai.*

Cash	..	52/-
Sessamum	..	17½ seers

Urad 22½ seers
2 silver rings; *Banka*
1 *mirzai*, 1 shirt, 2 turbans, 2 *dhotis*, 1 coat, 1 towel, *Gur*,
2 *lotas* also stolen but subsequently returned.
2 *hanslis*
1 pair *taria*
1 turban
Cash 7/-
Wheat 37 seers
1 *hansli*, 1 towel.
1 *lahanga*, 1 *dhoti*.

Kishanpur—People were terrified. There was no looting as in other villages but volunteers and *panches* had been compelled to pay money. Some were severely beaten. One person had his ankle and collar bone fractured. Even at the time of our enquiry he could not walk and his collar bone was disjointed.

A Congress volunteer who had been making collections in a box was also severely beaten and the box with its contents taken away.

Mahadeva—A big village in Hargaon *perganna*. There was no wholesale looting here but money was extorted and people subjected to most humiliating treatment. A special effort was made to produce friction between the Hindus and Musalmans of the village, and some village people were thus utilised to harass others of the same village. On or about the 3rd April a *ziladar* accompanied by employees of the Court of Wards and other officials came to the village. One person, the son of a *havildar* of volunteers, was beaten by shoes etc. and then completely stripped and told to go naked into the village. Volunteers were forced to beat each other with shoes and to abuse well-known Congress workers and sometimes their own mothers and sisters.

A father and son, both volunteers, were asked to pay Rs. 25/- as a penalty for being volunteers. On refusal the son was beaten again. The father entreated and begged the *ziladar* to spare his son and beat him instead. This request annoyed the *ziladar* who made the father get on his son's back and remain there. The father and son were let off on paying Rs. 17/-.

One woman was ravished. She was told that this was done because her husband was a volunteer. Most of the women had run away from the village and concealed themselves in the wheat fields in order to escape a like fate.

Jawaharlal Nehru

27th April 1922

Mohanlal Saxena

8. Circular to All Secretaries of District, Town and Tahsil Congress Committees[1]

Dear Comrade,

The time is rapidly drawing near when we shall again have to march forward and take a great step towards our goal. We have been concentrating on constructive work for the past few weeks. Soon we may have to start individual civil disobedience again of some kind. In some places it is almost impossible to carry on constructive work on account of the repression and terrorism of Government. We cannot permit this to continue. The Council is therefore meeting on the 1st May to consider this question. I would request you to hold yourself in readiness for any offensive or defensive civil disobedience which may ultimately be decided upon. Readiness means organisation and discipline. Please impress all our workers to put in all their strength and energy in the perfection of our organization—Congress members, Tilak Swaraj Fund, *Khaddar* and Volunteers. The greater and sounder the organization the more chance there will be of the district or *tahsil* being allowed to start civil disobedience. You should organize tours in your district and try to visit all important parts of it and generally rouse the people.

You must remember that there is very little likelihood of your receiving further financial help from the P.C.C. You must rely on your own resources and collect enough money to carry on all your activities. It is possible that if you are successful in *Khaddar* work the All India Committee may assist you in that work.

We must also take up the question of picketing now. The P.C.C. at its last meeting favoured the approaching of purchasers. This of course must be done, but this is not enough. Where necessary we must start picketing of shopkeepers who have taken their pledge or who refuse to take pledges to refrain from dealing in foreign cloth. But picketing can only be resorted to where there is no danger at all of violence. The picketers must be chosen men. The district committee or the town committee must carefully consider the pros and cons before deciding on picketing. Once decided upon it should be carried on with full vigour but with all humility.

You have been repeatedly requested to supply us regularly with information regarding your work, repression etc but few districts respond. Please do not fail in this matter, as it affects all our work. Kindly also remember that 40% of the Tilak Swaraj collection should be sent to us immediately.

1. Records for 1922 in the Office of the District Magistrate, Allahabad. Clearly written sometime after March 1922.

I trust you will realise that this is no time for slacking. Remember Mahatma Gandhi's words when he was arrested "Work on, tire not". Are we going to rest and retire from the field when our leader is being treated almost like a common criminal in the Yeravada jail[2]?

Your co-worker,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Mahatma Gandhi had been arrested on 10 March 1922 and sentenced on 18 March to six years' imprisonment. He was released unconditionally on 5 February 1924 because of ill health.

9. Circular to Secretaries of District Congress Committees and Members of the United Provinces Congress Committee[1]

I again write a circular letter to you almost in the shadow of the police. The police are searching our provincial office. They have also searched or are searching our house, Anand Bhawan, and several other offices. As in December last perhaps these searches may precede arrest and I hope the depth of my desire for *Swaraj* will this time be rewarded by a heavy sentence.

A joint meeting is going to be held in Allahabad on May 20. I trust that workers will muster strong and show to the province and to the country that such arrests and the policy of official terrorism have only put fresh vigour and strength into our movement.

We know we have enthusiasm and courage. Only one thing more is necessary to achieve success—organisation. Let us concentrate on organisation, on *panchayats* and village circles and *mohalla* centres, and each doing its allotted work regardless of searches and arrests. That work for the present must be *khaddar* work above everything else. With organisation our speedy success is assured. Some doubters and quibblers try to make out that we have failed to gain complete freedom by the end of 1921, but we did something which is only a little less. We demonstrated to India and to the world that we had shaken off the sloth and inertia of centuries; that we understood the value of freedom; that we could fight for it and above all that we could sacrifice for it. Is this a little achievement? What country has offered 23,000 or more of its loved ones for the jail as India did in the ever-memorable months of December and January? Today India is honoured and India is respected where yesterday we were treated as coolies

1. This circular letter dated 5 May 1922, was attached to U.P.C.C. Circular No. 51/419 dated 4 May 1922, the text of which is not available. See U.P. Govt. Secret Police Abstract of Intelligence, Vol. XL No. 21, 3 June 1922, p. 427.

and despised as slaves. We have gained a new status in the eyes of the world. That has been the achievement of a few months. Truly a wonderful record for which let us, in all humility, thank the Giver of all.

All Committees should concentrate their attention on the boycott of foreign cloth. Picketing can be started, but the condition of non-violence and non-intimidation should be always kept in view. If this cannot be done then picketing should not be indulged in.

I hope that you will come on the 20th and that you will proclaim your faith again at the meeting in the noncooperation programme and policy as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress.

10. Where are You?[1]

A big war is on these days in our country. There are two big groups. On one side is Mahatma Gandhi with the peaceful group of the Congress and Khilafat and on the other is the English Government with its armies, guns and cannons.

To which group do you belong?
Where are you?
With freedom or slavery?
With self rule or foreign rule?
With indigenous things or foreign goods?
With *Khaddar* or Foreign cloth?
With *Charkha* or British mills?
In Khilafat should there be justice or injustice?
In Punjab should there be justice or oppression?
You side with religion or irreligion?
Our poor folks should improve or remain as they are?
Should Indians remain united or disunited?
Wines etc., should go or continue?
Untouchables' lot be improved or not?
Do you side with those brave leaders and brothers of ours that are in jail or not?

Think it over and if your integrity, religion and spirit urge, then join Mahatma Gandhiji's Swarajya party and be prepared to face all sorts of troubles for the country and for the religion—and its recognition is that you don *Khaddar* spun by the *Charkha*.

1. Printed pamphlet published by Jawaharlal, Vishwambhar Nath Bajpaye and Raghunath Prasad Kapur for the Publicity Department, Provincial Congress Committee, Allahabad. Original in Hindi.
Records for 1922 in the Office of the District Magistrate, Allahabad.

11. Allahabad Businessmen and Boycott of Foreign Cloth[1]

Dear residents of Allahabad,
About ten months back the cloth dealers of our city had signed an agreement. In the name of God they had promised that till December 31 they would not procure any foreign goods and also that in case of procurement they would pay a fine of ten per cent for several months. Our brothers in business acted according to the agreement but then some persons, in their greed for money, forgot their promise and duty, broke the agreement and procured foreign cloth—and for this ill deed they chose an opportunity when our guide and thousands of brothers had courted arrest for the sake of the country, when Mahatma Gandhi was facing hardships in jail, when the entire country was busy fighting for *swaraj* and independence and was specially boycotting foreign cloth. At such a moment some of our weak draper brothers violated the agreement. The Congress Committee did not approve of this method of breaking the agreement. We, therefore, picketed some shops. At this, our comrade businessmen signed a new agreement in which they said that they were very sorry to have broken the first pledge and that they were ready to undergo some hardships for that and to pay a fine on the foreign cloth they had procured. They had promised to fulfil this by May 6.

Today, on 6 May, I hear that some of our draper brothers are intending to violate this second agreement also. Like the British Government they are not bothered by their promises and agreements. They are prepared to break the agreement at the first chance of making some profit. We started defiance of the British Government when it violated many promises. Now we do not want our fellow businessmen to follow that path of deception. If, therefore, any of them breaks his promise now, we shall picket his shop. Some of our young men may probably be caught picketing and may be imprisoned. In the Naini jail, nearby, it is said that young boys are made to grind corn. The fighters for freedom will court imprisonment gladly but I want everybody to know that in reality I am the person responsible for the picketing and not the boys who sit in front of the shops. If, therefore, any occasion demands I shall do the picketing myself and if arrests are made, I hope I shall be the first person to be arrested.

1. Original in Urdu. Records for 1922 in the Office of the District Magistrate, Allahabad.

If we are imprisoned, I am confident that many more will be ready to picket in our place and no resident of Allahabad will go to these shops to make purchases.

Finally, I request you to definitely boycott foreign cloth and wear *khaddar*. If you do this small service to the country the businessmen also will not be lured into procuring foreign cloth.

Yours sincerely,
6 May 1922 Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Statement at Trial[1]

I am making this statement not in order to defend myself against the various charges brought against me but to define my position and to state the motives which have induced me to act in the manner I have done. I have refused to plead guilty or not guilty and I have declined to participate in this trial by cross-examination of witnesses or otherwise. I have done so because I do not recognise this court as a court where justice is administered. I mean no disrespect to the presiding officer when I say that so far as political offences are concerned, the courts in India merely register the decrees of the executive. They are being used today even more than ever before to prop up the fabric of a Government which has misgoverned India long enough and of which the prestige is gone for ever.

I stand here charged with criminal intimidation and abetment of an attempt to extort. The warrant of my arrest bears also the familiar Section 124 A, although I am not being tried for it today. I propose however to make a comprehensive statement. I cannot divide myself up into various compartments, one for picketing, another for sedition and yet another perhaps for volunteering. All my activities have but one end in view and that end I have striven to attain with all the strength and energy that is in me.

Less than ten years ago I returned from England after a lengthy stay there. I had passed through the usual course of public school and university. I had imbibed most of the prejudices of Harrow and Cam-

1. *The Leader*, 19 May 1922.
On 17 May 1922 Jawaharlal was tried by K. N. Knox, District Magistrate of Allahabad, on a charge of intimidating cloth merchants by organising the picketing of the sale of foreign cloth.

bridge and in my likes and dislikes I was perhaps more an Englishman than an Indian. I looked upon the world almost from an Englishman's stand-point. And so I returned to India as much prejudiced in favour of England and the English as it was possible for an Indian to be.

Today, ten years later, I stand here in the dock charged with two offences and with a third hovering in the background—an ex-convict who has been to jail once already for a political offence, and a rebel against the present system of Government in India. That is the change which the years have wrought in me. It is not necessary for me to recite the reasons for this change. Every Indian knows them; every Indian has felt them and has hung his head in shame for them. And if he has retained a spark of the old fire in him, he has taken a solemn pledge to strive unceasingly for India's freedom, so that his countrymen may never again be subjected to the miseries and humiliations that are the lot of a subject race. Today sedition against the present Government in India has become the creed of the Indian people, to preach and practice disaffection against the evil which it represents has become their chief occupation.

I am charged with criminal intimidation, and attempted extortion. I have wondered if these charges were seriously meant. The sections of the code which have been applied bear no relation to the facts even as disclosed by the prosecution evidence. I presume that the signal success that has attended our efforts in Allahabad has induced the authorities to take some action against the picketers. If peaceful picketing for a lawful object is a crime then indeed I am guilty of having advised it and helped in it. But I have yet to learn that peaceful picketing has become an offence even under the laws of British India. Our object in picketing was to make the cloth dealers adhere to the pledges they had jointly taken. Does anyone believe that we could achieve success in this by criminal intimidation and extortion? All the world knows that our strength lies in the support of our people and the goodwill of our countrymen. Our weapons are not the old time ones of force and coercion. The weapons which our great leader has put in our hands are those of love and self-sacrifice. We suffer ourselves, and by our suffering seek to convert our adversary.

Criminal intimidation involves a threat of injury to a person or his property, and injury denotes harm 'illegally' caused. So also extortion must include the putting of any person in fear of 'injury' and thereby 'dishonestly' inducing him to part with property. I have listened to the prosecution evidence with interest in order to find out on what ground these novel charges are based. What was the injury to any person or property that was threatened? What was the harm 'illegally' caused? Wherein lay the dishonesty of any of us? I have not

heard a single allegation yet made, much less proved, which suggests that we have caused injury to any person or property, caused any harm illegally or acted dishonestly. Not a single prosecution witness including the police and the C.I.D. has made such an allegation. In the whole of Allahabad there was found no person of the thousands who must have witnessed the picketing, who could bring the charge of any intimidation against us, or even a harsh word uttered by one of our picketers. No greater proof of our triumph can be given than this unsought testimony of the police and the C.I.D. Our picketing has been, I make bold to say, a model of its kind, perfectly peaceful, perfectly courteous, relying on entreaties and exhortations and not even hinting at any force or intimidation. The cloth dealers, who are alleged to have been intimidated by us, are presumably the aggrieved party. But not one of them has complained.

Ten months ago, the cloth dealers of Allahabad took a solemn pledge to refrain from purchasing foreign cloth till the end of 1922. All the signatories to the pledge, and they included almost every cloth merchant in the city, constituted themselves into an association styled the *Viyapar Mandal* and elected office-bearers and a committee. The first business of the *mandal* was to lay down that every member who broke his pledge and purchased foreign cloth would have to pay a certain penalty and in case he refused to do this, picketing would be resorted to. The committee of the *mandal* was to determine in each individual case how much foreign cloth had been bought and what the penalty was to be. On several occasions during the past year the *mandal* committee considered such breaches of the pledge and imposed and recovered fines in accordance with their rules. Occasionally at their request picketing was also resorted to. Two months ago a large quantity of foreign cloth was purchased by some of the cloth dealers in Allahabad. This was in contravention of the pledge and the shops of some of these cloth dealers were picketed. Later a committee of the *Viyapar Mandal* newly reconstituted, assessed the fines on the merchants who had broken their pledges and themselves collected this money, which lies at the disposal of the *Mandal*. To the best of my knowledge two of the gentlemen who have given evidence for the prosecution in this case are members of the committee of the *Mandal*, and as such they must have themselves helped in the assessment and collection of the fines. These are the facts relating to picketing in Allahabad. It is clear beyond doubt that there was neither any intimidation nor any attempt at extortion. The present prosecution is really an attempt to suppress lawful and peaceful picketing under cover of charges of intimidation and extortion. Picketing has been going on all over India for many months. It has taken place in many cities and bazaars in

this province. Here in this very city of Allahabad we have repeatedly resorted to it. And yet Government took no action against it as such. They knew well that in India as in England peaceful picketing is no crime. Of course, it is open to them by a stroke of the pen to make even peaceful picketing illegal. But whether they do so or not, we shall not give it up. To entreat and exhort and advise others to follow a certain line of action or to abstain from doing something, is a right which we will not abandon, whatever the Government may do. We have few rights and privileges left in this country and even these are sought to be taken away. We have shown to the world how we value the right of free association, and we have continued our recruitment of volunteers in spite of thousands of arrests and all Government notifications to the contrary. We will not and we cannot submit to any restriction of our right of free speech. A quarter of a century ago, a great English judge stated in the House of Lords with reference to this right of free speech, that a man has a right to say what he pleases, to induce, to exhort, to command, provided he does not slander or deceive or commit any other of the wrongs known to the law of which speech may be the medium. Unless he is thus shown to have abused his right why is he to be called upon to excuse or justify himself because his words may interfere with someone else and his calling? This right of free speech we shall cling to, whatever the cost.

I am glad for many reasons that I am being tried for picketing. My trial will bring the question of the boycott of foreign cloth even more to the front; and I am confident that when the people of Allahabad and the province realise the full significance of the boycott they will discard all foreign cloth, treat it as unholy and the touch of it almost as a pollution. If they pondered over the evils and the misery and the poverty that foreign cloth has brought to this long suffering country, perhaps they would feel some of the horror I feel at the thought of wearing it. They will not bring forth arguments that old clothes have to be worn out or that festivities require fine clothing. They would know that the salvation of India and of her hungry millions demanded the use of the *charkha* and the wearing of *khaddar*, and they would cast out all foreign clothes and consign them to the flames or to the dustbin. I pray that the cloth merchants of Allahabad will adhere to their sacred pledge twice taken, and do their utmost to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth in this ancient and holy city. Some of these cloth dealers have given evidence for the prosecution in this case. I have no grievance against them. I shall suffer most gladly any imprisonment that may be awarded me if I know that thereby I have touched their hearts and won them over to the great cause. And I would appeal to the public of this city and province and earnestly

request them to do this much for their country—wear *khaddar* and ply the *charkha.*

My co-accused and I are charged with intimidation and extortion. I should like the police and Government officials to examine their own consciences, to search deep down into their hearts and say what many of them have done during the past year and a half. Intimidation and terrorism, bribery and extortion have been going on over the length and breadth of the province. And the persons guilty of them have not been Congressmen or our volunteers but the underlings of Government who have indulged in them frequently with the knowledge and approval of their superiors. Yet they are not tried or punished. They are patted on the back and praised and promoted.

My colleagues and I have seen, and personally investigated, acts of terrorism and inhumanity. We have seen how men and women have been subjected to uttermost humiliation. We have seen how terror reigns in Sitapur[2]. We have investigated the brutalities of Shohratganj, and we know how hundreds of Ballia's gallant workers have been sent to jail for the sole offence of being Congress office-bearers or other principal workers of the Congress. And the poor downtrodden kisans with the haunted hopeless look in their eyes, working away like the beasts of the field from morning to nightfall, so that others may enjoy the fruits of their labour—we have seen them harrassed and made utterly miserable till life became a burden almost too heavy to be borne. I need not refer to individual districts. Almost every one of them has the same sad and splendid tale to tell.

Intimidation and terrorism have become the chief instruments of Government. By these methods they seek to keep down a people and to suppress their disaffection. Do they imagine that they will thus instil affection for themselves in the people or make them loyal instruments of their Imperialism? Affection and loyalty are of the heart. They cannot be purchased in the market place, much less can they be extorted at the point of the bayonet. Loyalty is a fine thing. But in India some words have lost their meaning and loyalty has come to be almost a synonym for treason to the Motherland, and a loyalist is he who is not loyal to his God or his country but merely hangs on to the coat-tails of his alien master. Today, however, we have rescued the word from the depths and in almost every jail in India will be found true loyalists who have put their cause and their faith and their country above everything else and have been true to them despite all consequences. To them has come the great call; they have seen the vision

2. There were reports of police and official atrocities in this district. See ante, No. 7.

of freedom and they will not rest or turn away till they have achieved their heart's desire. England is a mighty country with her armies and her navies, but today she is confronted with something that is mightier. Her armies and her navies have to face the suffering and the self-sacrifice of a nation determined to be free, and no man can doubt what the issue of such a struggle must be. We are fighting for our freedom, for the freedom of our country and faith. We desire to injure no nation or people. We wish to have no domination over others. But we must be perfectly free in our own country. England has wronged us cruelly during the past 150 years or more. And even yet she has not repented or mended her ways. India gave her a chance a year and a half ago but in the pride and arrogance of her physical might she has not taken it. The people of India have tried her and they have passed judgment and from that decree there is no turning back. India will be free; of that there is no doubt, but if England seeks the friendship of a free India she must repent and purge herself of her many sins, so that she may be worthy of a place in the coming order of things.

I shall go to jail again most willingly and joyfully. Jail has indeed become a heaven for us, a holy place of pilgrimage since our saintly and beloved leader was sentenced. Big-bodied, great-hearted Shaukat Ali, bravest of the brave, and his gallant brother are there and so are thousands of our co-workers. One feels almost lonely outside the jail, and selfishness prompts a quick return. Perhaps I shall be awarded a long term of imprisonment this time. Whether this is so or not, I shall go with the conviction that I shall come out to greet Swaraj in India.

I have said many hard things about the British Government. For one thing however I must offer it my grateful thanks. It has given us a chance of fighting in this most glorious of struggles. Surely few people have had such an opportunity given them. And the greater our suffering, the more difficult the test we have to pass, the more splendid will be the future of India. India has not survived through thousands of years to go down now. India has not sent twenty-five thousand of her noblest and best sons to the jails to give up the struggle. India's future is assured. Some of us, men and women of little faith, doubt and hesitate occasionally. But those who have vision can almost see the glory that is to be India.

I marvel at my good fortune. To serve India in the battle of freedom is honour enough. To serve her under a leader like Mahatma Gandhi is doubly fortunate. But to suffer for the dear country; what greater good fortune could befall an Indian unless it be death for the cause or the full realisation of our glorious dream.

13. The Second Trip[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru
District Jail Lucknow
The Second Trip

My Jail Number : 4126

11th May 1922 to

12th to 20th May—District Jail Allahabad

21st May to 16th June—Barrack No. 5—Dist. Jail Lucknow

16th June to 4th October— " 4 " " "

4th October to 30th Jan 23—Civil Ward " " "

1. N.M.M.L.
This diary was maintained by Jawaharlal during his second term in prison. The whole text is reproduced with the omission only of certain personal details. These omissions are indicated by dots.

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11th May 1922	Arrested in Lucknow District Jail whilst on a visit to father. Removed the same night to Allahabad travelling 3rd class.
12th May	In District Jail Allahabad—met Devadas[2] there—his trial and conviction (18 m) Keshavdev Malaviya[3] and others arrested just outside jail.
14th May	? and 15th—our joint trial.
17th	We file our statements.
19th	Sentences passed on us.
20th	night—removed by train to Lucknow. Was taken early to Prayag Station and spent 2 or 3 hours with friends &c. Malaviyaji visited us in jail in the evening.
21st May	Sunday—arrived Lucknow District Jail morning. Taken to Barrack 5—Strict orders that I should not be allowed to mix with people in other barracks. Just had a glimpse of Mohan Bhai and Shamabhai in barrack 1. Had dinner with them as no other arrangement.
22nd	Had interview with Tasadduq Sherwani[4] who was released from Naini Jail on 20th.
25th	Sent letter to Kamala (This letter was objected to—However it was posted on 27th).
28th Sunday	Ramnath Gurtu[5] sought interview with me. Jailer allowed it but I declined as I expected mother and others soon. Received letter from father from Naini Tal Jail dated 24th May.
28th	Last day of Ramazan—Fasted.
29th	Khaliq and a large number of others visited our barrack being *Id* day. We were not allowed to go out of our barrack.

2. Devadas Gandhi (1900-1957); youngest son of Mahatma Gandhi and editor of *The Hindustan Times* from 1939 till his death.
3. Keshava Deva Malaviya (b. 1903); joined the Congress in 1921; secretary of Allahabad City Congress Committee and General Secretary, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee for many years; Minister for Mines and Oil, Government of India, 1957-63.
4. Tassaduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani; belonged to a zemindar family of U.P. and practised as a barrister at Aligarh before joining the nationalist movement. A close associate of Jawaharlal; President U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, 1931; arrested along with Jawaharlal in December 1931. He died in 1935.
5. A resident of Allahabad.

June 1st Informal interview with Kishan Bhai in office—15 minutes —Jailer present.

June 2nd Sent letter to father (Naini Tal Jail).

June 7th Interview with mother, Lado Bhabi[6], Kishan Bhai, Manmohini[7] & Sham Mohini[8]? & Betty? Just half an hour. Kamala ill in Allahabad—So could not come—Neither could Indu. Heard that father's fine realised by attachment and sale.

Jailer informed me in evening that a telegram had come from father announcing his release on evening of 6th.

June 8th Learnt that Father arrived in Lucknow and had great reception.

10th Informal (?) interview with father, Hakim Ajmal Khan,[9] Mrs. Gandhi,[10] Mrs. Naidu,[11] Shuaib,[12] Habib,[13] Moazzam Ali,[14] Ram Das Gandhi,[15] Pyare Lal,[16] Malaviyaji &c.

12th Received letter from Kamala dated 30th May.

13th Yusuf Imam[17] produced before Supdt for having used

6. Laddo Rani Zutshi (1880-1968); wife of Ladli Prasad Zutshi.
7. Shrimati Manmohini Sahgal (b. 1909); daughter of Ladli Prasad Zutshi.
8. Shyam Mohini (1910-1953); younger daughter of Ladli Prasad Zutshi.
9. (1865-1927); leading Unani physician of Delhi, President, Indian National Congress, 1921. He was a great friend of the Nehru family. Of a shy and retiring disposition, he commanded great respect among his fellow countrymen, and his association with the national movement was prestigious.
10. Kasturba Gandhi (1869-1944).
11. Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949); poet and politician; president of the Kanpur session of the Indian National Congress, 1925; Governor of Uttar Pradesh, 1947-49.
12. Shuaib Qureshi; started his career as a Congressman; General Secretary, A.I.C.C., 1924-25; son-in-law of Maulana Mahomed Ali; after 1947, served for a short while as High Commissioner for Pakistan in India.
13. Professor Mohammad Habib (1889-1971); a well known historian and an authority on medieval Indian history.
14. Secretary, Central Khilafat Committee; member, A.I.C.C.
15. (1896-1969); son of Mahatma Gandhi; arrested during the Champaran Satyagraha; edited *Navjivan* weekly; later became manager of the Bardoli Ashram started by Sardar Patel.
16. (b. 1899); joined the noncooperation movement when still a student; worked with Mahatma Gandhi; on the death of Mahadeva Desai in 1942, became private secretary to Mahatma Gandhi.
17. A barrister of Mirzapur, member of the District Congress Committee and Chairman of the District Board; sentenced in 1921 to 15 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 150.

violent language to jailer and interfered with latter. Sent to Central Jail.

We held a meeting of the residents of our barrack and were unanimously of opinion that apart from question of language used by Yusuf Imam he was thoroughly justified in speaking for a friend who had been unjustly attacked. As Yusuf Imam had been sentenced for this we resolved to inform Supdt that we were all prepared to do so if opportunity arose and to invite him to inflict the punishment for this offence on us. Formal letter to this effect sent to Supdt signed by 31 persons (only one person being absent did not sign)

Also decided not to take rations the next day and to observe 24 hours fast.

14th Fasted (35 hours). All barracks refused rations excepting one person in barrack 4. Bade good bye to Mohan Bhai & Shama Bhai in evening.

15th Mohan Bhai & Shama Bhai released.

Weight 118 lbs. Yusuf Imam returned from Central Jail.

16th June Yusuf Imam and other Mirzapur people released. Wrote letter to Kamala.

Kishan Bhai came for interview but I declined to see him saying that the indignities etc., were such that I was not prepared for the present to interview any one. Thereupon jailer brought a letter from father addressed to K. B. in which he asked my opinions about Kamala's programme, visit to Hills &c. Jailer asked me to answer it which I did.

Removed to Barrack No. 4 in evening.

17th Letter dated received from Kamala.

Kishan Bhai phoned in the evening if he could come and see me the next day. I declined.

18th Gandhi Day[18]—observed semi-fast.

Meeting of residents of barrack at midday to consider question of interviews. Discussion for 3 hours. Majority of opinion that interviews should not be held till conditions changed. Eventually decided that for one month interviews should not take place.

Large number of articles arrived from Allahabad.

18. Observed every month to recall Mahatma Gandhi's sentence to imprisonment on 18 March 1922.

21st Started living according to programme. Gita class in the morning. Urdu class.

24th Wired to mother not to come for interview.

27th Letter received from Kamala dated 22/6/22.

29th June Clements[19] showed me telegram from mother enquiring after my health. Said it would take the place of a letter if he delivered it to me or if I answered it. I would thus be debarred from writing for another fortnight. I refused to send a reply by telegram on these conditions. Special prayers this morning for Pt. Ramraksha[20] (Prakash?) who is said to have died in the Andamans after 90 days fast. He refused to take any food as his sacred thread had been removed. Also for Moulvi Bunyad Husain, a political prisoner who died in Bahraich jail recently.

30th Wrote long letter to Kamala and sent it to jailer. Long list of books given in it.

1st July Two postcards brought for me. I took neither as both unimportant.

Letter from H.S. Polak[21] to Supt shown to us. He wished to interview Devadas,[22] me, and "the Malaviyas" on the 4th or 7th. Letter had been written from Calcutta. I expressed regret and refused.

Govind[23] & Krishnakant Malaviya discharged this morning.

My letter to Kamala dated 30/6 apparently posted on 1st July.

July 3rd Most of Mainpuri people discharged today.

Bhawani Shankar[24] of Fatehpur, fellow prisoner in barrack No. 4, celebrated his *Upanayana* ceremony inside the barrack today. Age 22. Arya Samajists officiated—others attended.

19. Colonel Clements; Superintendent, District Jail Hospital, Lucknow.
20. Pandit Ramraksha; was convicted to life imprisonment in the Burma Conspiracy Case. As a protest against harsh treatment by the jail authorities he went on a hunger strike and died after fasting for 90 days in Port Blair jail.
21. British solicitor; companion of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa.
22. Devadas Gandhi.
23. Pandit Govind Malaviya (1902-1961); youngest son of Pandit M. M. Malaviya; imprisoned several times during the noncooperation movement; served for a term as Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University.
24. A noncooperator and member of Fatehpur District Congress Committee.

On Ist July I wrote to the Jailer and asked him to send me my cheque book as I wished to draw a cheque. The cheque book had previously been deposited in the office at the instance of the Supt & the Jailer who said that the rules did not permit of my keeping the cheque book with me (although I could keep cash!) No answer came from the jailer and so I sent a reminder to him on the morning of the 3rd. In the afternoon a circle inspector (Ram Nath Pande) came and said that the Supt wanted to know in whose favour I would draw the cheque, for what amount it would be and how I would spend it—I answered that so far as the first two points were concerned he would find out when he saw the cheque. I wanted some cash and it might be convenient to draw the cheque in favour of self. I was not prepared to impart any further information and I would certainly not tell him as to how I would spend the money—

July 4th Weight 114 lbs.

Jailer came and showed me a letter he had received from father in which an enquiry had been made regarding our interviews. The question of interviews having cropped up I discussed it with the jailer at length. I told him that assurances must be given to us that political prisoners in this jail would be treated in a decent manner during interviews. He said that he would speak to Clements and let me have an answer early the next day.

Rain—no volley ball.

July 5th I wrote to jailer regarding my cheque book, repeating the oral answer I had previously given to Pande. The cheque book was sent to me in the afternoon.

The jailer did not come to me as promised. A slip however came from him asking me whether I would see my mother and wife this week. I replied that I desired no interviews so long [as] assurances &c were not given to me.

On the jailer asking me to do it, I wrote a few lines for father which the jailer had said he would enclose with his reply to father. (Jailer sent a messenger. He did not come himself.)

Rain—practically no exercise.

July 6th Some of the Agra people—Sitla Sahai, Raghupati Sahai,[25] Bindbasni Prasad[26] &c—arrive in the jail and are placed in barrack No. 8—Bal Krishna Kaul[27] also with them. Is sent to No. 11.

Jia Ram, Dwarka Prasad[28] & Zafar Husain[29] from barracks No. 1 and 2 visited us in the evening.

7th Bindbasni Prasad visited us in evening.

8th Received a bagful of cotton from Beni Prasad Singh[30]—also mangoes &c from Kamala from Delhi—She was to have gone to Allahabad on the 7th. Weight 115 lbs. Jailer visited me and said that he had spoken to Supdt. regarding the question of interview—Supt. refused to do anything or give any assurance.

Raghupati Sahai, Mata Prasad[31] from No. 8 & Balkrishna Kaul from No. 11 visited us. Also Sitla Sahai.

25. Congress worker of Gorakhpur and Vice-President of the Town Congress Committee, 1921; served for many years at Allahabad University; better known as the Urdu poet, Firaq Gorakhpuri.
26. A lawyer of Ballia; sentenced in December 1921 to 18 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500.
27. (b. 1903); worked in the Congress organisations in U.P., the Punjab and Ajmer till 1947; Minister in Ajmer State 1952-56 and in Rajasthan Government 1962-67.
28. A zamindar of Bareilly and Secretary of the Town Congress Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to 18 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500.
29. Member, U.P. Legislative Council and Secretary, District Khilafat Committee, Moradabad.
30. Member of Lucknow Town Congress Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to 6 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100.
31. Mata Prasad Misra; Munsarim; Vice-President of Rae Bareli District Congress Committee.

Copy

Barrack No. 18

Register No. 4126

History Ticket

Allahabad Jail

Class III

Name	P. Jawahar Lall Nehru	Father's name	Pt. Motilal Nehru
Sentencing Officer	K. N. Knox	Place of abode	Allahabad
Crime	Criminal intimidation and attempted extortion.	Profession or trade	Congress volunteer
		Caste	Brahman
Section	117/506, 506. 385/116 I.P.C.	Age	32
Sentence	18 months R.I. fine Rs. 100 in lieu 3 months additional R. I.	Education	...
Date of sentence	19.5.22	Previous conviction	X
Date of release	18.2.24		
Date of check	...		

First class misdemeanant

Date	Employment or History in Jail	Initials	Date	Appeal &c	Initials
	Health G Labour H			...	
	Task			...	
20/5/22	Transferred to Lucknow D.J. being 1st class misdemeanant	XX	27/5/22	Letter sent	XX
21/5/22	Received from Allahabad District Jail		4/6/22	Letter sent	XX
	H. Good L nil		12/6/22	Lettter given	XX

(In form of graph)

Weight on admission	115 lbs
„ „ 1st June	118 lbs
„ „ 15th June	115 lbs
„ „ 1st July	115 lbs

My weight was not taken on admission to Lucknow D.J. Perhaps this weight was taken at Allahabad D.J. The weighing machine was different and hence the apparant gain in weight on 1st June.

History ticket copied on 8th July 1922.

J. N.

July 9th Received cotton *punis*, mangoes, *chatais* &c from Allahabad. Some 13 books are also said to have come but they have been detained in office for inspection.

July 10th Monday —Fasted—

Received letter from father — Allahabad dt. 8/7 — also a note in same cover from Kamala. Six or seven lines from father's letter cut off by jail authorities.

July 11th Remaining Agra people brought to our jail — (Joseph, Mahadeva Desai,[32] Ram Naresh Tripathi[33] and 11 others) Put in barracks 1 and 2. Joseph, Mahadeva & Ram Naresh paid us a visit in the evening.

Father's letter to jailer informing him of his programme.

July 12th Swami Raghavananda[34] of Barhaj (Gorakhpur) discharged on completion of sentence. Also some Benares people discharged from other barracks.

Jailer came in afternoon and again discussed the question of interviews. Repeated his former assurances. I suggested that I should see Khaliq — He agreed and brought Khaliq with whom I had long talk. We agreed entirely on the attitude to be taken up by us.

July 13th Sent 25 page letter to Father to Bombay (or rather sent it to the jailer)

Khaliq came again in the evening and discussed the question of interviews. Informed me of the decision of his barrack. They had left the matter to Khaliq and me. (Meeting of residents of our barrack re: interviews)

July 14th All barracks have decided in favour of resuming interviews on conditions agreed upon. The jailer brought intimation to me from other barracks. Thereupon I wrote to all barracks informing them of the unanimous decision. These notes sent through jailer.

July 15th New Programme from today.

July 16th (Sunday) Arsenic 1000 taken in morning according to father's written directions. New Govt. rule regarding interviews enforced from today. Only *one* outsider to interview a political prisoner at a time!

32. (1892-1942); secretary for many years of Mahatma Gandhi; died a prisoner in the Aga Khan Palace at Poona.
33. (1886-1962); Hindi writer.
34. Member, Gorakhpur District Congress Committee.

Abdul Wadood Khan[35] & Jia Ram came to our barrack in evening. Also Bal Krishna Kaul.

July 17th Devadas unwell. Suffering from boils for last few days. Gland in groin very painful. Doctor suggested lancing but it opened of its own accord at night.

Joseph & Mahadev came in evening.

My letter to father returned to me for address. The Supt had posted it without any alterations although the jailer informed me in the morning that certain passages had been taken exception to by the Supt. Apparently part of my letter had been translated for his benefit. (The letter was written in Hindi). I addressed the envelope and added a small note to the letter regarding the new rule about interview.

This letter was posted (registered) at the R.M.S. office this evening.

July 18th Gandhi Day. Full 24 hours fast. Spun for 3½ hours. Gita 1½ hours. Devadas went over to hospital this evening.

July 19th I did not feel very well — Slight return of old trouble — Jailer informed me that he had received a letter from Kishan Bhai from Naini Tal (where he had gone from Almora to attend on *chacha*[36] who was ill) enquiring after my health. At his suggestion I wrote a few lines to Kishan Bhai.

July 20th morning — took Ars. 200 (30 not being with me) trouble continues — feeling of lassitude and weakness. Felt better in evening — Read Havell till late at night.

July 21st Fit again — Took Ars. 200 again in morning.

One of little toes swollen — Went to Hospital to have it dressed. Saw Joseph there abed with fever. Devadas practically well. Jailer showed me telegram which he had received from father from Bombay saying that an operation had been performed on Kamala and she was well.

23rd Sunday Took Ars. 200

35. Of Muzaffarpur; member, Provincial Congress Committee, Bihar; sentenced in December 1921 to one year's imprisonment.

36. Jagat Narain Mulla.

Most of the ordinary prisoners made to work in our barrack are really politicals. One aged gentleman — a *qazi* — was the president of a Khilafat Committee in Lakhimpur District.

He was sent to a Mohammadan mess in our barrack to serve as cook.

Most others come from Gorakhpur. They have been run in under Sec. 110. Wholesale convictions — probably thousands—under this Section since Chauri Chaura.[37] They appear to be quite pleased at seeing us here. They are classed & treated as "habituals" although this is their first conviction. Apparently the Cr. P.C. specially allows this in cases under Sec. 110.

24th Monday — Semi-fast.

Jailer showed me a telegram addressed to him by father in which he said that Kamala was well & that he had received my letter (of the 13th which was posted on the 17th).

26th Little toe continues to give trouble. The whole leg slightly painful.

29th Toe improving for last 2 days. Took Ars. 200.

Father's registered letter came today but was not delivered to me.

30th Kishan Bhai telephoned to ask if he could interview me. I sent answer that I was willing.

Devadas returned from hospital this evening. Mahadeva also came with him & remained for some time with us.

31st Kishan Bhai came to see me. Had an interview with him for just half an hour when I was informed that time was up. I gave him lists of English & Hindi books required by me. Also returned some books to him.

August 1st Tuesday — Death anniversary of Lok. Tilak & 2nd anniversary of N.C.O. — Complete fast 36 hours. Special prayers in morning. Meeting at 11. Collection for Tilak Swaraj Fund. Father's letter dt. 22-25th July from Madras delivered to me.

August 2nd Broke fast this morning after full 36 hours. Not feeling

37. At Chauri Chaura, a village in Gorakhpur district in U.P., in February 1922 an angry mob set fire to a police station and 22 constables lost their lives. This influenced Mahatma Gandhi in calling off the civil disobedience movement.

well—lassitude. Felt weak and tired in evening....Hirday Nath Kunzru[38] visited jail this morning as member Council. Supdt with him. Had a fairly lengthy conversation with him — and passage at arms with the Supdt regarding the behaviour of jail officials. New light thrown on question of interviews. Supt said that although Govt. had ordered that interviews should only be allowed with one person, he had not applied the order to women. So that several women — preferably not exceeding three-should come. Children not included in reckoning.

Wrote a long letter to Kamala (Bombay) answering points raised in father's letter and sent it to jailer.

Joseph & Mahadeva visited us in evening.

August 3rd Felt better in morning — ....

A meeting of residents of our barrack held at noon, went on till 4.30. We discussed N.C.O. programme &c. Meeting adjourned till tomorrow.

Khaliq & Rafi Ahmed[39] came in evening.

August 4th Barrack meeting at noon — lasted with intervals till 8.30 p.m.

Didn't feel quite well — irritation &c. Received parcel of apples & pears from Shamji Mushran (Simla) through Kishan Bhai.

August 5th *Bakr-Id* day — number of visitors from other barracks. Mohamadans allowed to go to all barracks. Some Hindus accompanied them.

In evening had a game of volley ball with some people from No. 11.

Received parcels of fruits & vegetables from Kamala (Bombay)

For last few days it has been raining very heavily and we are confined to barrack for most of time.

......

38. (B. 1887); President of the Servants of India Society since 1936, and of the Indian Council of World Affairs since 1948.

39. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai (1894-1954); a Congressman from Bara Banki; joined the noncooperation movement in 1921; chief whip of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly after the 1926 election; worked among the kisans in Oudh districts and helped to organise the no-rent campaign in 1931-32; Minister for Revenue, Home and Jails in U.P. in 1937-39 and 1946-47; Minister in the Government of India from 1947 till his death. Kidwai was an imaginative administrator, who is best known for his introduction of the night air mail service.

August 6th (Sunday) ...... Very heavy rain during night. A corner of the roof of our barrack collapsed.

Heavy rain for practically whole day — Played volley ball in rain.

August 7th *Raksha Bandhan*

Permission to Hindus to visit other barracks. Went to Nos. 8 and 9 where the *Shrawani* ceremonies were performed by about 20. These included many baths &c. A *yagna* also performed.

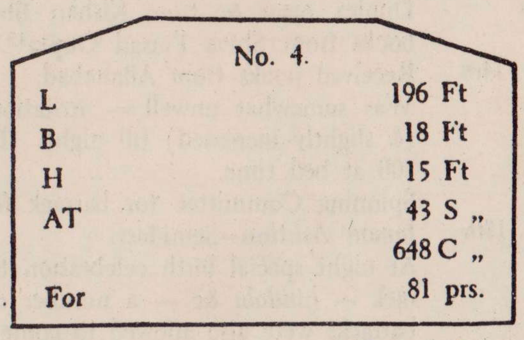
Spent several hours in 8 and 9 and fed there. Then went to Nos. 10 & 11 where we remained till night. Fed, played volley ball &c there,

Was quite fit.

My letter to Kamala dated 2/8 was posted today.

Specification of our barrack (No. 4)

(Copied from paper in barrack)



This represents area and space for each prisoner.

(This is the largest barrack in the jail — no others are larger)

August 9th Weight 114 lbs at 10 a.m. before midday meal. Supt. sent note to me asking me if there was a meeting of all political prisoners at which I presided and where a resolution bidding farewell to Moulvi Abdul Wadood was passed. I replied saying that I was not aware of such a meeting and I had neither attended nor presided at any such meeting.

Devadas was called to the office and the same question was put to him. He gave same answer.

Received 7 books from Allahabad.

August 10th Interview with Masud Ali Nadvi in the shed in passage. After 21 minutes word was sent to me from office that

half hour was up. I told Muzaffar[40] that only about 20 minutes had elapsed. Still I came away after another 2 minutes.

Received a parcel of apples from Somerford orchard Ramgarh.

August 11th A parcel of books from Allahabad. Books have been kept in office for inspection.

I.G. visited jail this evening. Walked through our barrack — did not speak to anyone. A great deal of shouting & cleaning & hullabaloo previous to his arrival.

August 12th Devadas had an interview with Chandrakant[41] &c. He was taken out of the jail also to the tent where interviews with ladies take place. He remained away for nearly 1-1/2 hours. He spoke of the delightful greenery &c outside the jail.

August 13th Sunday Took Ars. 1000 in morning—was quite well. Received Duplex razor &c from Kishan Bhai. Devadas received books from Shiva Prasad Gupta[42].

August 14th Received books from Allahabad.

Was somewhat unwell — irritation &c. This continued (& slightly increased) till night. Thereupon I took Ars. 200 at bed time.

Spinning Committee for barrack formed.

August 15th *Janam Ashtimi*—Semi-fast.

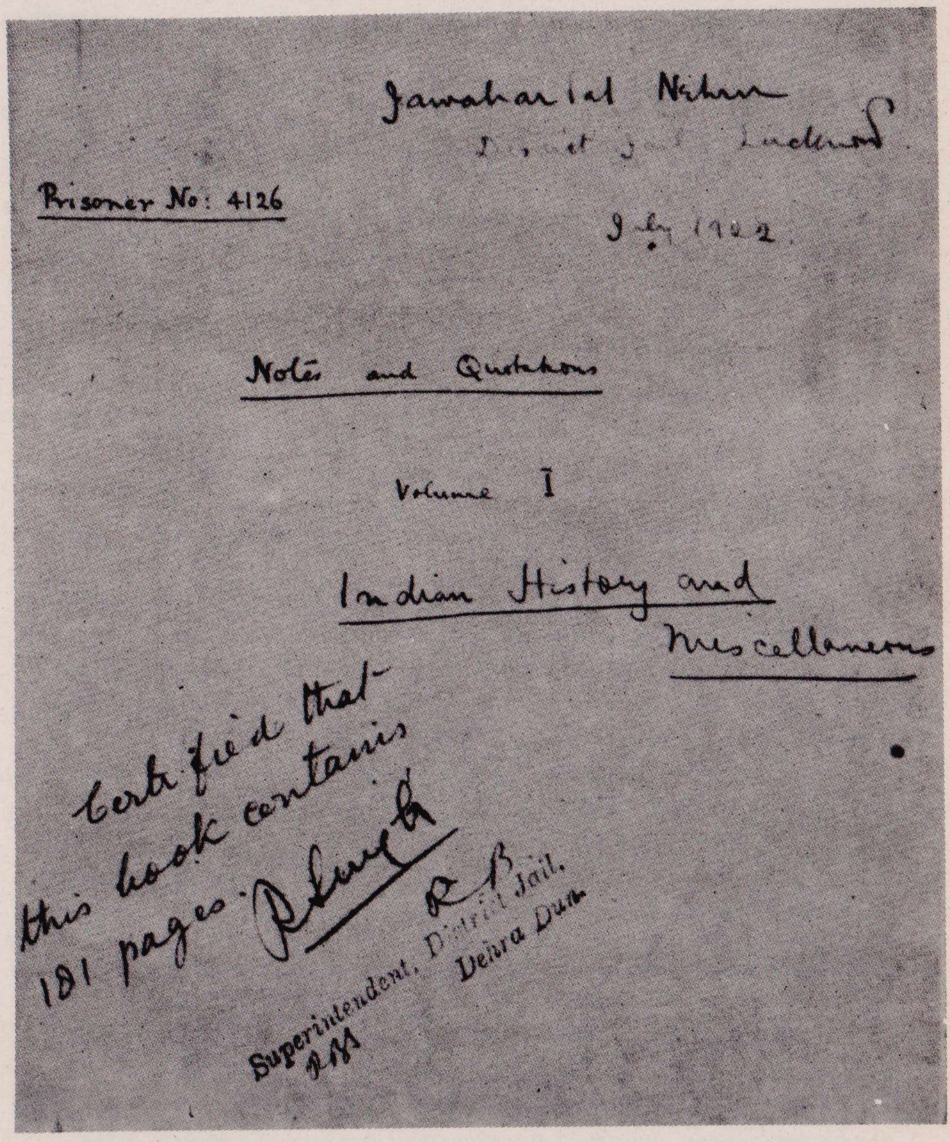
At night special birth celebration took place in our barrack — *hindola* &c — a number of persons from other barracks were also allowed to come for a few minutes to our barrack at mid-night.

. . . . .

Telegram from Kamala from Bombay to Jailer enquiring about my health.

August 16th Barrack 11 proposed to celebrate *Janam Ashtimi* today — Got permission for others to visit their barrack in the afternoon. At last moment strange limitations put on our going. We do not go. Some limitations then removed and we all congregated in 10 & 11 from 8 to 9 P.M.

40. A jail official.
41. Chandrakant Malaviya; nephew of Pandit M. M. Malaviya and elder brother of Krishnakant Malaviya; a loyalist and liberal in his early days, he later became a noncooperator.
42. (1883-1944); a rich landowner of Banaras who worked whole-heartedly for the Congress and was for some time its treasurer. He represented the Congress at the Second Conference of the League against Imperialism.


Jawaharlal Nehru
District Jail Lucknow

Prisoner No: 4126

July 1922.

Notes and Quotations

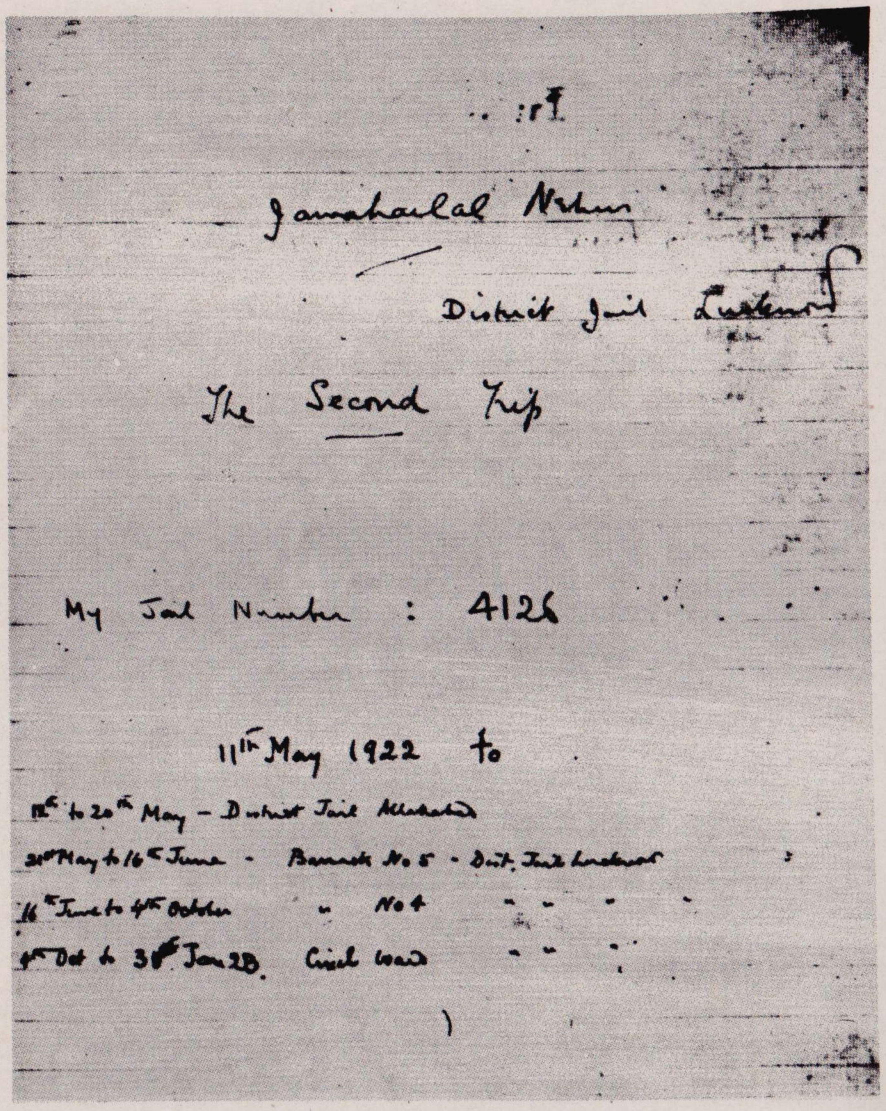
Volume I

Indian History and Miscellaneous

Certified that this book contains 181 pages.

Superintendent, District Jail. Dehra Dun

PHOTOSTAT COPY OF THE FIRST PAGE OF JAWAHARLAL'S BOOK OF NOTES AND QUOTATIONS.



Jawaharlal Nehru

District Jail Lucknow

The Second Trip

My Jail Number : 4126

11th May 1922 to

11th to 20th May – District Jail Allahabad

21st May to 16th June – Barrack No 5 – Dist. Jail Lucknow

16th June to 4th October " No 4 " " "

4th Oct to 31st Jan 23. Civil Ward " " "

PHOTOSTAT COPY OF THE FIRST PAGE OF JAWAHARLAL'S PRISON DIARY, "THE SECOND TRIP"

Telegram from father to jailer from Patna giving his programme to 19th (back to Calcutta, then Gaya & Allahabad on 20th)

. . . . .

August 17th Thursday Received letter from Mother & Kamala from Bombay dated 12/8. Read 7 Hindi books from Shiva Prasad, Benares. . . . . .

Wrote long letter to father at night — didn't finish it.

August 18th Gandhi Day

Finished letter to father adding note on my treatment and sent it to office in a registered cover at 9.40 a.m.

. . .

Recd. parcel of apples from Ramgarh.

Couldn't spin much owing to lassitude &c.

19th . . . .

20th . . . .lassitude also in morning—better in forenoon.

August 21st (Monday) Kishan Bhai came to see me and Devadas. We had the interview in the office. It lasted for 45 minutes and even then there was no hurrying. Ultimately I came away without any reminder. Evidently a '*prayashcitta*' on the part of the jail staff for their behaviour during my last interview which was cut short after 20 mins.

Kishan Bhai told me of the birth of a daughter to Shauna.

Money collected on 1st August in our barrack for T.S.F. 37/10 — Have told Kishan Bhai to ask father to pay 40/- to T.S.F.

My letter to father dated 17/18 posted today.

August 22nd Jailer showed me a letter he had received from father from Allahabad where he had just returned. He was well. At jailer's request I wrote a small note for father.

. . . . . .

August 23rd . . . . . .

August 24th . . . . . .

Jailer shows me another letter to him from father regarding my treatment.

? Started taking milk from warder from today (3/4th *seer* daily)

August 25th Letter from Sarup to Supdt shown to me wherein she expresses a desire to see me on Sept. 3rd. Jailer suggested that I might write to her and to father suggesting Sept. 4th etc. I follow his suggestion.

Received parcel of apples from Ramgarh—also a parcel from Kamala (Bombay) containing pistachios.

......

August 26th Telegram from father to jailer saying that Bombay party coming to Lucknow direct on Monday for interview.

....

....

August 27th ....

Received articles from father from Allahabad. Also saw his letter dater 25/27th.

August 28th (Monday) ......From today have given up use of shivaram oil.

Interview with mother, Kamala, Bibi,[43] Betty & Indu. Devadas also saw them. After 35 mins. I was told by jailer that interview should terminate in another 5 mins.

Aug 29th Some slight irritation today but no other trouble. Nand Kishore of Lucknow discharged from our barrack today after completion of sentence.

August 30th ....

August 31st ....

Father's letter dated 25th/27th formally delivered to me. Received homoeopathic medicine &c from father. Also received cotton slivers "through Srimati Urmila Devi."[44] Received parcel of apples from Ramgarh.

SEPTEMBER 1922

September 1st (Friday) Took Collinsonia 30 in morning. Wrote long letter to father and sent it to office at 1.30 p.m.......

2nd Took Collinsonia 30....

Barracks 8 & 9 emptied and their political prisoners sent to other barracks. We have got about ten of them and our barrack is again somewhat crowded.

3rd Took Collinsonia 30....

4th —do—

Clements brought an American named Vaze (?) representing the "International News". He took a number of cinematograph films and photos. At Clements' suggestion he also photographed me separately for father.

43. Elder sister of Swarup Rani Nehru.

44. (1883-1956); sister of C. R. Das; imprisoned several times in connection with the nationalist movement.

Clements and I also photographed together with the big fan behind!
Visited No. 11 in connection with these photos &c. Interview with Nan & Ranjit[45]. Devadas also saw them.

September 5th Took Collinsonia 30

6th —do— Kapil Deo Malaviya discharged today. He was not permitted to see me or any one else in another barrack before he left.
Splendid news! Kamal Pasha's complete victory. Greeks evacuating Asia Minor. Have decided to hold a barrack meeting on Friday 8th at 7.15 a.m. to offer thanks giving and congratulation.

7th Took Collinsonia 30.
Weight 115 lbs taken at 5 p.m.

8th (Friday) Barrack meeting at 7.30 a.m. *Bande Mataram,* poems and prayers. Resolved to send a telegram of congratulation through the Superintendent to the Khilafat Com-

Angora Day[46] mittee Bombay to be forwarded to Angora.
Akhtar Ali[47] arrives from Aligarh—a new addition to our barrack. He has been sentenced to 1 year under 124A. Later he went over to No. 11.

11th Sept. (Monday) *Akali Day*—Day specially observed in honour of the Akalis[48] in every barrack. In our barrack 24 hours fast (without water). *Havan and Gita path* in the morning and special prayers in the evening.
Khaliq came in the afternoon and spent some time with us.

13th Khaliq came again in afternoon.

14th Slightly unwell—took Paconia 3X at night..

45. Ranjit Sitaram Pandit (1893-1944); a barrister of Rajkot; married Shrimati Vijayalakshmi, Jawaharlal's sister, in 1921; joined the noncooperation movement and served several terms of imprisonment; translated *Rajatarangini, Mudrarakshasa and Ritusamhara* into English.

46. Was observed in honour of the Turkish victory over Greece in 1922.

47. A pleader of Allahabad and Secretary of the Congress Committee.

48. Between 1919 and 1920 there was widespread restlessness and dissatisfaction with the management of shrines and gurdwaras in the Punjab. The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee was set up in November 1920 to take over the gurdwaras from the hereditary managers, the Mahants. The *Akali* movement for reform soon came into conflict with the Government and coalesced with the noncooperation movement.

15th Took Eupatorium Aya three times. Letter from Kamala dated 10/9 delivered to me. Wrote to Kamala and sent letter to office.

16th Eupatorium 3 times

17th Eupatorium Aya once in morning.

Angora Celebration Day

Maulana Sharif in our barrack in afternoon—In evening illuminations (!) decorations &c of part of the barrack compound. Bunting & Swaraj flags and lanterns manufactured out of some coloured paper. A few mosquito net poles wrapped up in coloured paper. The tri-colour swaraj flag mounted on an imitation rock, made of baskets covered with moss, looked very effective. The *charkha* had been very carefully and well worked out on the coloured paper of the flag.

Two paper lanterns—a green and a red—bore inscriptions which shone out on the lanterns being lighted up from inside—"Victory to Kamal"

"कमाल की जै" "ओं"—a crescent etc.

"Allah-O-Akbar" was another inscription beautifully lighted up in this way.

About a hundred *chirags* were placed over the barrack grounds, mostly near the buntings and the flag. There was not enough oil and a request for oil in the earlier part of the day had met with a blank refusal on the part of the jail authorities. They would not even give any for payment. Hence recourse was had to ghee.

Altogether a pleasing and delightful scene—such as the Lucknow District Jail had not seen before.

At 8.30 p.m. proceedings started with *nazms*. Then *Vande Mataram* & *Hindustan Hamara Hai* of Iqbal. Exactly at 9 p.m. *prarthna* commenced. Swami Sahjanand[49] of Ghazipur began and he was followed by Shah Mohammad Shafi[50] of Tanda. At the conclusion of the *prarthna*—*nazms* again.

49. Swami Sahjanand Saraswati of Ghazipur; an active member of the Congress and sentenced in 1922 to one year's rigorous imprisonment. He had also been President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, and in 1936 was president of the first All-India Kisan Congress.

50. President of the District Congress Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

Before and after the proceedings loud and lusty shouts of Allah O Akbar, Vande Mataram, Mahatma Gandhi ki jai."—"Sat Sri Akal—jo bole so nehal"—Shaukat Mohamed ki jai, &c. And so ended this day strange and unique in the annals of the Jail.

A similar programme was followed in other barracks but they were not ambitious enough or enterprising enough to go in for decorations or illuminations.

And whilst we celebrated the victory of the Turks—England prepared for war! Or at any rate threatened war with them! !

18th (Monday) 6th Gandhi Day

Interview with Kishan Bhai—Abul Hasan[51] brought a number of things from Allahabad. Learnt that father had gone to Amritsar Beti much better. Kishan Bhai not allowed to interview Devadas as latter's interviews are said to be stopped because of the letter he wrote to Brelvi[52] which was published in *The Bombay Chronicle.* No formal intimation, however, given to Devadas yet.

18th Took Eupatorium Aya — once at night. My letter to Kamala dated 15th given to Abul Hasan to be taken to Allahabad.

19th Raining most of the day—& night

20th Weight (in the morning at 9.30 a.m.) 117 lb—an increase of 2 lbs in the last 13 days! Still raining.

21st Devadas informed by Superintendent that his interviews and letters stopped for the rest of his term! He sympathised and said that the punishment was unjust—Not his fault. Evidently under orders of Govt. Said he would try to get the order varied. Devadas slightly taken aback, but he took it very bravely

21st (cont) Eclipse of the Sun between 8 a.m. and 10 a.m. Visible in spite of clouds—

23rd Allah Bande & Kanhaiya Lal[53] (Pt) discharged from our barrack.

51. Servant of Motilal Nehru; was with the Nehru family for over forty years.
52. Syed Abdullah Brelvi (1891-1949); editor of *The Bombay Chronicle,* and a leading Congressman of Bombay.
53. Pandit Kanhaiyalal Trivedi; Secretary, Pilibhit District Congress Committee; imprisoned on 29 January 1922 for six months.

23rd & 24th Spent wholly in spinning & in putting right the *charkha.*

25th (Monday) Interview with mother, Bibi, Krishna & Indu. A glimpse of Ranjit at end.

28th Murari Sharma[54] discharged.

29th Took Paconia 3x twice.

30th *Vijai Dashmi*

Daya Krishna Ganjoor[55] discharged from barrack No. 2. Mir Wajid Ali[56] of Rae Bareli was discharged a day or two ago. Both are of the company of the "55" and have been discharged for some occult reason before their time.

30th contd. Letter from Kamala dated 28/9 delivered to me in the afternoon. Contained notes from father & mother.

OCTOBER

1st Took Collinsonia 30 in morning. Sent letter for father with a note on my health to the office at 7.40 a.m.

2nd (Monday) 53rd anniversary of Gandhiji's birth; we had a spinning competition of barracks 3 & 4. I was one of the judges. A very successful competition in which good results were obtained. Only 12 competed owing to lack of good *charkhas.*

At midday a common feed in which nearly all—Hindus & Muslims—took part.

In afternoon special volley ball match—teams selected by lot.

In evening special *prarthna* followed later by a short dramatic entertainment. Illumination &c at night.

In the evening my letter to father which I had sent to the office the day before was brought back to me with certain parts blue pencilled across. I was told that the Supdt. objected to the marked passages and if I would remove them or rewrite the letter without them the letter would be sent. The marked passages were two. One related to the application of the rule whereby persons other than "immediate relatives" are not granted interviews with prisoners unless the prisoner in question has

54. Of Ballia, U.P.; sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in September 1921.

55. President of the Fyzabad District Congress Committee; imprisoned in several noncooperation campaigns.

56. (1862-1947); lawyer of Rae Bareli; arrested in 1920 for helping to organise the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales.

had no interview for the preceding four weeks. In my letter I had merely quoted the printed rule and said that it was being given effect to now although it had been in existence for months past. The second passage related to the restrictions imposed on Devadas and dealt at some slight length with my arrival in the District Jail Allahabad after my 2nd arrest, my meeting Devadas there and finding him very excited and happy at having been arrested, and writing letter to various friends. I mentioned how he had probably given one of these letters to some interviewer in all innocence and with no idea at having broken a jail rule.

I informed the jail official who brought my letter that I would not make any alterations in it. The Superintendent was free to do what he chose with it. And I returned the letter.

3rd October We are informed in the evening that we would have to leave our barracks next day. Persons belonging to our mess would have to go after the midday meal—all others in barracks 3 & 4 would go early in the morning.

In order to celebrate our last night together in barracks 3 & 4 we played volley ball by moon light (it was the 13th day of the bright fortnight.) We played a very successful game for nearly two hours!

4th October I learn that my letter to father was posted yesterday after heavy censoring.

We see off the people leaving our barracks. They are being sent to No 8 & 9—excepting some Mohamadans who go to No 11. An affecting parting. Tears in the eyes of many. Murli Manohar[57] & Shah Mohammad Shafi much affected. All depart except the eleven of our mess. In the afternoon we are told to march away with our goods and chattels. Three divisions made of our party. Manni Lal[58] sent all by himself to Nos. 1 & 2; Devadas, Balkrishna, Venkatram & I allotted to the Civil Ward and the others sent to Nos. 8 & 9. The parting rather sad after many months of close companionship. Keshodeva

57. Of Sagarpali, Ballia; joined the noncooperation movement when only sixteen years old; Member of Parliament 1952-57 and 1962-67.

58. Mannilal Pande; a noncooperator from Jalaun; prosecuted on 13 December 1922 for organising the Congress volunteers and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment.

goes about with red eyes & tears glistening in them. Radha Krishna Tewari[59] breaks down absolutely and blubbers. In fact every one of us felt sad. Most of us were under the impression that we might not see each other again for the rest of our terms of imprisonment. The Civil Ward is indeed an isolation ward and there is little chance of our seeing any of the present residents of the *chakkar* before our discharge. So that Devadas, who cannot even have outside interviews or letters, will have to put up with our sole company for a year and more!

We are told that Purushottam Das Tandon & Dr. Murari Lal will follow us to the civil barrack. We find on arrival Ananda Swami[60] of Jhansi or thereabouts already installed in one of the little buildings. He appears to be a most eccentric individual.

6th October We are put in the very same barrack in which I slept during my first night in jail—December 7th.

Purushottam Das & Parmatma Nand Singh[61] are sent to our barrack. We are now six.

The jailer informs me of a 'phone message from Allahabad to the effect that father is unwell and Indu has fever. Mother will come for the Monday interview but Kamala may not.'

7th I take Nux vomica 30 in morning. We start reading the Gita—a chapter a day—from this evening.

8th (Sunday) Nux Vomica 30 taken in morning. Jailer informs me that Kishan Bhai & Shauna came to interview me yesterday. He told them that I was expecting mother & others from Allahabad next Monday and I could not have two interviews within a week.

Started doing geometry, geography and English literature with Devadas.

9th October (Monday) Took Nux Vomica 30 in morning.

Interview with mother in the early morning.

10th Received some books (Shakespeare &c) from Allahabad —brought by Abul Hasan—Khaliq, Joseph & Joti Pershad[62] visited us in the evening at 7 for a consultation

59. A volunteer from Saran, in Bihar.
60. Swami Anand Dev Swami; a noncooperator from Jhansi, originally imprisoned in Agra.
61. Member, Ballia District Congress Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to 18 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500.
62. Secretary, Meerut Congress.

on the subject of the enquiry regarding the death of Oudh Narain Lal[63]. The Enquiry Committee had specially authorised them to do so. They came again at night at 11.15 p.m. Dr. Jawaharlal[64] taking Joti Prasad's place.

11th Joseph, Joti Prasad & Harnam Sundarlal[65] came in the morning in continuation of the previous night's talk.

Bad news about Indu's health for last few days. Today a telegram to jailer announced welcome news of her recovery.

I took Eupatorium Aya this morning.

Our newspapers stopped for last two days—neither the Leader nor the Englishman delivered on the 11th or 12th. The I.D.T.[66] also did not come on 12th. It had also been stopped last Saturday. The Hamdam has not put in an appearance for over a week. Apparently there have been news or comments relating to the jail. Probably there have been references to the Enquiry Committee which has been sitting for the last few days to enquire into the case of Oudh Narain Lal. The Committee consists of Kumar Parmanand—President, Nasrullah and Hunter the Civil Surgeon of Lucknow. They finished their sittings this evening.

13th October Yesterday's Leader & the Englishman given to us in the evening. The day before's and today's not given.

14th October (Saturday) The Hamdam appears after over a week!

The Correspondent of The Manchester Guardian—Gwynne[67] by name—came with Supdt and had a long talk with me on the political situation &c.

15th October Mahadeva Desai is removed to our barrack.

16th October Interview with Kamala—Had a glimpse of Anand and

63. Avadh Narain Lal (1890-1922); of Deoria; sentenced in December 1921 to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100. He died in prison.
64. Jawaharlal Rohtagi (b. 1883); a doctor and active Congressman of Kanpur; often imprisoned in connection with the nationalist movement; elected Member of U.P. Legislative Assembly several times since 1937 and was also for sometime after 1947 a minister in the U.P. Government.
65. Member, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to 18 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500.
66. The *Indian Daily Telegraph*.
67. J. T. Gwynne; after a short spell in the Indian Civil Service, served as the correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* in India.

Haribhai Desai[68] & Basumati Ben[69] & Mrs. Joseph. Received letter from father 11/10. Devadas called to the office. Had a long talk with Gwynne. Nearly two hours!

18th Raj[70] came to see me early in the morning on her way down from Almora. Interview not allowed as it was not due.

On 17th and 18th took Eupatorium twice — morning & evening.

19th My letter to father posted.

(Thursday) Took Nux Vomica 30 at night.

Newspapers have been coming to us most irregularly during last few days. They are usually mutilated.

20th October *Deepawali*

In evening lit a few *chirags* (the jailer only sent us 10 tiny ones!)

Took Nux Vomica 30 in forenoon.

23rd October Monday interview with mother, Kamala & Indu—Indu very thin & weak-looking after her severe illness, but cheerful.

I took Nux Vomica 30 in morning.

Since the 8th October I have been giving three to four hours daily to Devadas. We have been doing Indian History, English literature, Geometry & Geography. This has taken the whole of my afternoons and I have had to stop spinning for the time being. Another reason for this is the bad condition of my *charkha*. It is giving a lot of trouble.

25th October Weight at 11 a.m. before midday meal 117 lbs.

No change!

We finished our first reading of the Gita at *prarthna* time last evening—From today a second reading begun.

26th My measurements taken today.

Chest	35	and	29¾	in
Waist	26	and	24¼	in
Biceps & triceps arm extended			10¾ in; bent 11	in
Forearm		,,	9¼	in
Calf	12 in thigh (where mark)		17½	

68. Father of Mahadeva Desai.
69. Vasumati Behn; social worker of Surat and an associate of Mahatma Gandhi.
70. Shrimati Raj Dulari Nehru, wife of Shridhar Nehru.

30th October (Monday) Interview with mother, Shauna & Beti.
Took Nux Vomica 30 in morning.
Started reading Tulsidas's Ramayana at *Prarthana*, in addition to an *adhyaya* of the Gita from last evening.
Weight at 4.30 p.m. (just after afternoon refreshments) on grain weighing machine 1 md 17 *seers* 3 *ch.*=117¼ lbs. The weighing machine is different from the one used before.

31st Took Nux Vomica 30 in morning.
Devadas is informed by Supdt. that the punishment awarded him for sending an unauthorised letter &c has been reduced by Govt to 3 months. So that Devadas can begin interviews & correspondence again from the 10th December.
Received letter from Kamala dated 27/10.

NOVEMBER

My birthday on 11th

2nd Nov. (Thursday) We are given a copy of the new rules for political prisoners. More restrictions—less food—interviews and letters once a month only—books only with the permission of the District Magistrate—no Gandhi cap &c! We gather, informally, that these rules will come into force on the 15th.
I sent a letter for Kamala yesterday to the office. This was posted today. She is in Dehra Dun with father.

3rd Nov. I am given to understand that Kamala will come and see me on the 8th. Received a lot of fruit &c from Dehra Dun.

5th (Sunday) Took Nux Vomica 200 in morning

6th Not well. Took Nux Vomica 30 at night.

9th November Interview with Kamala & Birju Bhabi. With them came Indu, Vidya,[71] Birju[72] & Ballo.[73] They had all come from Lahore this day.
Yesterday the Superintendent asked me about the new rules. I made our position fairly clear to him. Specially as regards the non-wearing of the Gandhi Cap. I told him that this was a question of principle—as indeed

71. Shrimati Vidyavati Dutt (b. 1913); daughter of Kishanlal Nehru.
72. Brij Kumar Nehru (b. 1909); son of Brijlal Nehru, cousin of Jawaharlal. Joined I.C.S. 1934; at present Governor of Assam.
73. Balwant Kumar Nehru; son of Brijlal Nehru.

the Govt. had admitted by issuing such a silly order—and we could not willingly obey the rules.
Ramdas Gandhi had an interview today with Mahadeva.
I took Nux Vomica 30 on the mornings of the 7th and 8th November.

11th November Saturday — My 33rd birthday! according to the *Samvat* calendar. Otherwise it comes on the 14th November. Mother's instructions carried out. Mahadeva, Devadas & Parmatmanand Singh prepare a regular feast!
Supt told me this morning that under the new rules the books we already possess will not be taken away from us. I ventured to suggest as much on the 8th when the Supdt. spoke to me on the subject but he would not agree to this interpretation then. Today he calmly takes up this position and says that the rules are ambiguous on the point. Besides, he says, it is too troublesome to collect all the books from the political prisoners! Anyway, for this relief many thanks.
Purushottam Das sends for sweets in honour of my birthday—In the evening grand (!) illuminations under the direction of Balkrishna & Parmatmanand!

13th Nov. (Monday) I.G. visits our barrack.

14th Letter from father & Kamala received. We finish 2nd reading of Gita at *prarthna* time.

15th New rules enforced from this date. But I am informed by jailer that another interview will be allowed this week to all politicals. Also that I am entitled to send a letter home today.

16th I send a letter for father to the office. The letter is addressed to Allahabad, but it is to be forwarded to Calcutta where father is likely to be. A note on my treatment is attached.
New Regulations given to us. Interviews for us only on 4th Sundays of every month. Letters also in a particular week every month. No drilling of any kind, no noise &c.

17th Nov. My weight today at 5 p.m. 119 lbs—a gain of 2 lbs in 2½ weeks!

18th 8th Gandhi Day—
Venkat Ram discharged on completing his six months.
I also complete 6 months today—
My letter to father dated 16th posted today.

20th (Monday) Murli Manohar & Deokinandan[74] discharged today from their barrack. Ganpat Sahai[75] & Bhagwan Das Halna[76] were discharged a day or two ago on ground of ill health.

Abstract of Regulations amplifying rules.

1. No money to be kept by prisoners. To be deposited in office.
2. No cooked food accepted from visitors for prisoners. This includes sweets.
3. Interviews for Civil Ward on 4th Sunday every month.
4. Letters for Civil Ward 2nd week of each month.
5. Drilling of all kinds forbidden.
6. Prisoners not to retain possession of any instrument for the production of noise or music.
7. No noise to be created which is audible beyond the limit of the particular barrack.

In answer to a query the jailer informed me that the rule relating to interviews with ex-prisoners still subsisted. So that father cannot see me. Three visitors—men or women—can now interview at a time.

Nov. 20th (contd.) Interview with mother & Ranjit.

Nov. 22nd (Wednesday) Saw Khaliq

I asked the Supdt. yesterday about the rule relating to interviews with ex-prisoners. Unlike the jailer, he was doubtful about the matter and promised to enquire from higher quarters. He gave it as his opinion that there was no necessity for the rule now as it practically applied to me only.

Devadas examined in the Hindu Period of Indian History. He did a good paper.

Nov 23rd Supdt. informed me that he did not think the rule about ex-prisoners not having interviews applied now. He said that he did not think it worthwhile to refer the

74. Secretary, District Congress Committee, Rae Bareli; arrested for participating in the noncooperation movement.
75. President, Sultanpur District Congress Committee.
76. A journalist of Aligarh; member of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee; sentenced in December 1921 to 18 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500.

matter to Govt. but it was open to him to apply the rule or not and he was not going to apply it. He was not prepared to say that the rule had been abrogated but— & so on and so forth. I asked him if my father could see me. He said he could and agreed to my informing my people accordingly. It was obvious that the Supdt. had consulted some high official in the matter but, as usual, he wanted to make out that the initiative came from himself! A little later the jailer came to me and hinted that the Sahib had seen the Raja Sahab[77] about it! So the cat was out of the bag. The jailer agreed to write to father—At his suggestion I sent a few lines to mother informing her of the new interpretation.

Joseph moved to our barrack this evening.

Nov. 24th The new D.C. (Routledge) visited our barrack.

Nov. 29th Am informed that father will have an interview with me today. Later a telegram comes to jailer from father saying that he was unavoidably detained and would come the next day.

Nov. 30th (Thursday) Interview with father, mother, Kamala & Indu. Took Hep. Sulph 6.

DECEMBER

6th Anniversary of our arrest! Only five of those who were arrested on the 6th Dec. 1921 remain in this jail today —Purshottam Das Tandon, Khaliq, Wali, Joseph & I Of course I have had an outing since and have come back again.

7th Took Sulphur 30.

We finished our third reading of the Gita at *Prarthna* time on the 4th.

December 10th Weight at 11 a.m. 119 lbs—no change.

December 15th Took Sulphur 200 in morning. Khaliq & Wali came to say goodbye.

16th Khaliq & Wali discharged after completing their term of a year.

17th Anniversary of my first conviction (under the Criminal Law Amendment Act).

77. Maharaja of Mahmudabad (1877-1931); a leading taluqdar of Avadh; executive councillor, U.P., 1921-1926; personal friend of Motilal Nehru.

18th	9th Gandhi Day—Fasted.
20th	Mahadeva's birthday—Completes 31st year. He reminded us of it only in the evening. So we celebrated it next day on the 21st. (According to English date Mahadev was born on 1st January 1892)
Dec. 23rd	Took Sulphur 500. Devadas examined in Physical Geography and Elementary Geology. He did well.
Dec. 28th	I was unwell for some days and felt uneasy and restless. The damp and rainy weather contributed to the general discomfort. For a day or two I was feverish. Am quite fit again. I was weighed on the 26th evening. I was just over 117 lbs which is 2 lbs less than I was on the last occasion a fortnight ago. A letter from father addressed to me came to the office about the 15th December. This has not yet been delivered to me as my month is not yet up. The letter must have been written under some misapprehension so soon after Kamala's of the 8th. A.P. Sen[78] visited our barrack as an official visitor some days ago.
1923	
January 3rd	Weight at 11 a.m. 120 lbs. Have again gone up! We are having a cold wave. Minimum temperature last night was 38°F.
January 5th	Interview with father, Kamala, Indu & Nikku[79]. Devadas had an interview with Ba and others.
January 18th	Tenth Gandhi Day—Fasted. Received letter dated 13/1 from father. A very short one. Harnam Sundarlal has been sent to our barrack because he was considered to be an agitator and rather troublesome in the circle. He came on the 15th. Mohd. Nawab[80] was released on the 16th. We have gone through the Gita 5 times at *prarthna* time. We are now reading some pages of Lok. Tilak's *Gita Rahasya* every evening and not a chapter of the Gita.

78. A barrister of Lucknow.
79. Kunwar Lal Katju, younger brother of Jivan Lal Katju.
80. Nawab Mohammad, member, Lucknow Town Congress Committee.

I learnt yesterday from a telegram sent by father to the jailer of the birth of a daughter to Sarup on the morn ing of the 16th.

19th Wrote letter to Kamala last night—Sent it to office early this morning. Soon after learnt that father may interview me tomorrow or the day after.

Shafi Mohamad Shafi (of Tanda) came to bid us farewell in evening. He is being released tomorrow after serving out his full term of one year.

Swami Anand Deva discharged from our neighbouring barrack today.

22nd (Basant Panchami) Expected father on the 20th and 21st but he did not come. No news either.

Took Sulphur 1000 on morning 20th. Dharmvir[81] & Shah Sahab discharged on the 20th. For many days past there have been strong rumours about the impending discharge of political prisoners—specially those convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. These rumours gained force by the news of the repeal of the Act.

Weight today in afternoon—after unusually heavy meal —121 lbs.

January 23rd Mahadeva departs.

25th I begin taking Kuhne's[82] hip baths in the morning.

27th Learnt of very serious illness of Sarup. She has got over crisis and is slowly improving. Father's visit to me could not take place on this account. He may come and see me on the 29th or 30th.

29th The Jailer dashes in at about 1.30 in an excited state and announces that we are all going to be released. On being questioned he says that he has no official intimation. Kishan Bhai has telephoned, and some one else has confirmed this that the Governor announced in Council today that all p.ps will be released. We take the

81. Professor of mathematics at Kashi Vidyapith; a noncooperator; established an *ashram* at Shivapur to popularise the use of *khaddar*; arrested in July 1922.

82. Wilhelm Kuhne (1837-1900); a physiologist who developed methods of nature cure, particularly hydrotherapy.

news very calmly and somewhat incredulously. The jailer however insists that we are going to be discharged. If so, I suppose we shall have to put up with it, although the last volume of Gibbon has still to be read!

In the evening the jailer tells us that Crim Law Amendment Act prisoners will be released—No orders as to the rest. At about 8 p.m. the Supdt came and said that all of us are going to be discharged. Gives us the option to go immediately or the next morning. Only Ch. Raghubir Narain[83] of Meerut & Saidur Rahman Kidwai[84] remain of all the Special Div prisoners in the jail. We have decided to go tomorrow morning—on the 30th.

RECORD OF INTERVIEWS

22nd May 1922	Interview with Tasadduq A. Sherwani who had been released 2 or 3 days before from Naini Jail.
(1st June)	Informal interview with Kishan Bhai—Jailer present, for about 15 mins only in office.
7th June	Interview with mother, Lado Bhabi, Kishan Bhai, Manmohini, Sham Mohini & Betty. Just 30 mins. Jailer present throughout—took notes.
10th June	Informal interview in office with father, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mrs. Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu, Ansari, Shuaib, Habib, Moazzam Ali, Ramdas Gandhi, Malaviyaji, Pyarelal &c &c for a few minutes in office.

INTERVIEWS STOPPED BY US

(Declined interviews with Kishan Bhai, Polak &c because of this decision)

INTERVIEWS STARTED AGAIN

31st July	Interview with Kishan Bhai—just ½ hour in office.
10th August	Interview with Masud Ali Nadvi in shed. Only 21 minutes allowed.
21st August (Monday)	Interview with Kishan Bhai (Devadas also accompanied me)—in office—45 mins—no hurry.

83. Chaudhri Raghubir Narain Singh, member of the United Provinces Congress Committee.
84. Belonged to a family of taluqdars of U.P.; imprisoned in Bara Banki for a speech on 17 November 1921; member, A.I.C.C.

28th August (Monday)	Interview with mother, Kamala, Bibi, Betty & Indu. 40 mins. in office.
4th Sept. (Monday)	Interview with Nan & Ranjit in office about 33 mins.—Devadas also interviewed them.
18th Sept. (Monday)	Interview with Kishan Bhai in office. Just half an hour —Interview with Devadas not allowed to K.B.
25th Sept. (Monday)	Interview with Mother, Bibi, Beti & Indu in office—just half an hour—Had a glimpse of Ranjit at the end.
9th October (Monday)	Interview with mother in office. Just half an hour.
16th October (Monday)	Interview with Kamala in office. A glimpse of Anand
23rd October (Monday)	Interview with mother, Kamala & Indu in office.
30th October (Monday)	Interview with mother, Shauna & Beti.
9th November (Thursday)	Interview with Kamala, Birju Bhabi, Indu, Braj Kumar, Ballo & Vidya.

(From now onwards new rules apply—Next interview can only take place after a month). An extra interview allowed to all prisoners. Henceforth each barrack to have a special Sunday in the month for interviews. For the civil barrack, the 4th Sunday has been fixed.

20th November (Monday)	Interview with mother & Ranjit.
30th Nov. (Thursday)	Interview with father, mother Kamala & Indu. (This interview took place so soon after the 20th as according to regulations we in the Civil Ward were entitled to an interview on the 4th Sunday).
5th January 1923	Interview with father, Kamala, Indu & Nikku. (This was really the December interview)

MY SPINNING RECORD

From 16th August onwards :

So far : I *Kukri* on 24/6 & 25/6 about 1½ *tola* before 16th August
II *Kukri* June „ 29/32 *tola*
III „ 453 yds; 1¼ *tola*=17¼ counts dt. 9/7/22
IV „ on 20/7; 602 yds; weight 1-5/16 tola=21¾ counts
V „ on 15/8; 740 yds; 2 *tolas*=17¾ counts
(Also some more in common *Kukris*) Total nearly 7 *tolas*
Time roughly 44 hours

August

	Time spent on *charkha* &c (cleaning, repairing, spinning &c)	Actual spinning time	No: *punis* used
16th	2 hrs	1 hr 50m	5¾
17th	2¾ hrs	2½ hrs	6

(Extraordinarily slow progress as I have been trying to spin fine yarn)

18th	50 mins	¾ hr	1

(Intended spinning a lot on this day—Was unwell. Besides dark & raining).

19th	2 hours .10 mins	2 hours	4

Total time 7 hours 5 mins Weight : 6 annas—3/8th *tola*
VI *Kukri* taken out. No punis 16¾ Length=269 yds
∴ Count 34.1

New *Kukri*	Spinning time	*Punis*
20th August	2 hours 5 mins	12
21st	1½ hours	8½
22nd	1 hr 10 min	8
	4¾ hrs	28½

VII *Kukri* taken out — Time 4¾ hrs Punis 28½ Weight 14 as=7/8 *tola*
Length 377 yds ∴ Count 20½

23rd	3 hrs 10 mins	2 hrs 40 mins	17
24th		1 5 mins	10
		(raining and very dark)	27

VIII *Kukri* taken out

Time 3¾ hrs *Punis* 27 Length 269 yds Weight=14 as=7/8 *tolas*

∴ Count 14¾

25th	3 hrs		2½ hrs		13 *punis*
26th			2¾ hrs		15 „
			1¼ hrs	4 hrs	5 „
27th		2 hrs	35 mins	3½ hrs	9¼ *Punis*
			55 mins		3¼ „
28th	4¾ hrs		3½ hrs		14½ „
			13½ hrs		60 *punis*

IX *Kukri* taken out : Length 1097 yds Weight 1 *tola* 11 *masha* 5 *ratti* Time 13½ hrs

∴ Count 28 *Punis* 60

29th	Did no spinning		
30	1 hr 25 mins	3 hrs 5 mins	16¼ *Punis*
	1 hr 40 mins		13¾ 30
31st	about an hour or less		10
	about 4 hours		40

X *Kukri* taken out
Length 496 yds Weight 1 *tola* 5 *masha* 2 *rattis*
Time about 4 hours *Punis*—40

∴ Count 16.3

Analysis of spinning &c for second half of August

Time : 16 days —
Total time spent in spinning 33 hours 5 minutes
Total time spent over *charkhas* & cognate occupations 36 hours
Total weight of yarn spun —5 *tolas* 6 *mashas* 3 *rattis*
Total length of yarn spun 2508 yards
Total weight of yarn spun since June 24th. 12 *tolas* 6 *mashas* 3 *rattis*
Total length „ „ „ „ 4900 yards
Total time spent in spinning alone, „ „ roughly 80 hrs
Average count 18½

J. N.
31/8/22

September

XI	1st	No spinning	—Wrote letter to father	
	2nd	3½ hours		21 *punis*
	3rd	1 hr 40 min		9½ 12½
		20 min 2 hours		3
	4th	1 hr 15 min		9
		6¾ hrs		43

Kukri taken out Total time 6¾ hours *punis* 43
Lenth 713 yds Weight 1-9/16 *tolas* Count 21-3/4

XII	5th	No spinning	—Read Amir Ali for most of the day	
	6th		3 hours 7 mins	24 *punis*
	7th		2 hours 43 mins	32 *punis*
			5 hours 50 mins	56 *punis*

Kukri taken out Total time : 5 hrs 50 m. *punis* : 56
Length : 744 yds
Weight 2-1/32 *tola* Count 17½

XIII			
	8th	3 hrs 2 mins	28 *punis*
	9th	2 hrs 39 mins	23 „
	10th	2 hrs 13 mins	21 „
	11th	1 hr 34 mins 2 hrs	16 p. 27 p.
		1 hr 2 mins 36 mins	11
		10½ hrs	99

XIII (Cont) *Kukri* taken out Total time 10½ hrs *Punis* 99
Length : 1122¾ yds; Weight : 3-7/32 *tolas* Count 16.6

From Ist Sept.
(Upto and inclusive 11th total time given to spinning alone : 23 hrs 5 mins i.e. 1 hr 5 mins in excess of schedule—not including time spent on cleaning *charkhas*, taking off yarn &c &c)

XIV	12 Sept.	1 hrs 3 mins	10 *punis*
	13th	2 hrs 3 mins	18 „
	14th	1 hrs 6 mins	10 „
		4 hrs 12 mins	38 *punis*

Kukri taken out Total time 4 hrs 12 mins—*Punis* 38
Length : 528 yards Weight : 1-5/16 *tola* Count : 19.1

(Upto 14th—43 mins)

XV 15th No Spinning—Letter to Kamala written
16th 1 hr 50 mins 2 hrs 20 *punis* 21½ p.
10 mins 1½
17th 1 hr 25 mins 13 p.
18th an hour on 1 hr 2 mins 2 hrs 5 m 10 p.
cleaning *charkha* 9
&c &c 1 hr 3
5½ hrs. 53½ p.
Kukri taken out Total time 5½ hrs *Punis* 53½ Length 636 yards
Weight Rs. 1/14/6 Count 16

(Upto 18th—3 hrs 13 m)=1-29/32 *tola*

XVI 19th No spinning—raining &c—but spent nearly an
(—5 hrs 13ms) hour on improving the *charkha*—
20th Still raining—Spent some time over cleaning &c *charkha*
—Found spindle hopelessly crooked.
(—7 hrs 13 mins) Had to take it out and send it to be straightened
and was thus forced to refrain from spinning.
21st Spindle is returned to me at noon—I spin in the afternoon.
(—6 hrs 23 mins) 2 hrs 50 mins 27 *punis*
(First Friday when no hank shown by me)
22nd Spent morning (over 2 hours) in fixing up *charkha* &c
6 hrs 3 hrs 33 mins 3 hrs 32 34 p.
12 mins 45 mins 2
(—4 hrs 38 min) (Altogether spent nearly 6 hours on *charkha* today)
23rd (morning) 3hrs 3min 2 hrs 3 min 18¼ p.
Kukri taken out : Total time 8 hrs 38 min 79¼ p.
Length : 1102 yards Weight : 2-37/48 *tola* Count : 18-3/4

XVII 23rd (cont) afternoon 2½ hrs 2 hrs 9 mins 18 *punis*
(—2 hrs 26 mins) (12 *punis* wt ½ tola 1 *ratti*—time 1½ hrs—Wastage
collected 1 *ratti*)
17 p. wt 11/28t 2r time 2 hrs 5 m Wastage 2 *rattis*
24th 6¼ hrs 1 hr 26 min 5 hrs 20m. 11 *punis*
3 hr 54 min 33 p.
(+54 min) 44
Kukri taken out Total time 7 hours 29 min—62 *punis*
Length 825 yards Weight 2-11/32 *tola* Count 16-3/4=2/5/6
*Given all my yarn spun so far to mother to be taken to Allahabad.

XVIII	25th	2¼	2 hrs	12 p.
(+2 hr 14 m)	26th		3 hrs 20 min	27
	27th		2 hrs	12
(+3 hr 14 mins)	28th		3 hrs 7 mins.	26½
			10—27	77½

Kukri taken out Time 10 hrs 27 mins. *Punis* 77½

Length 1173 yds Weight 2-55/96 *tola*

=2/9/6

Count 22

* Note :

Yarn sent to Allahabad : 17 hanks

Total weight : 27 *tolas* 8 *mashas* 1 *ratti*

Highest Count 34.1 Lowest Count 14¾

Average count about 18¼

Total length 10570 yards

Date 25th September 1922

XIX	29th	No spinning—not quite well		
(+ 31 mins)	30th	1 hr 40 mins	1 hr 10 mins	17 p

Totals for September : Time 60½ hours actual spinning time besides many hours spent on putting *charkha* right, *mal* &c.

Does not include yarn spun on 30th | Total Weight yarn spun in Sept. 17 *tolas* 9 *mashas* 1 *ratti*

„ length „ „ „ 6886 yards

Highest count 22¼ Lowest Count 16

Average Count 18½ roughly

Total from 16th August to 28th September

Total weight of yarn spun 23 *tolas* 3 *mashas* 4 *rattis*

Total length „ „ „ 9394 yards

Total time of spinning alone 92 hours 25 mins.

Highest Count 34.1 Lowest 14-3/4 Average 19.1

October

XIX	(30th Sept.	1 hr 40 m	1 hr 10 m	17 p.)
	1st Oct.	1 hr 37 min		22 p.

2nd „ Did no spinning—Occupied for most of the day in judging in spinning competition of our barracks.

3rd „ Did no spinning—Felt somewhat tired and disinclined.

Kukri taken out : Weight 1-1/3 *tola* Length : 365 yards

Time 2 hrs 47 mins. Count 13.

4th No spinning—Occupied in changing barracks

5th & 6th „

XX 7th 45 mins
8th 1 hr
9th 40 mins (on Devadas's *charkha*)
10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th No spinning
18th 1½ hours
19th ½ hr
20th-22nd No spinning
23rd About 1 hour
4¾ hours (+ 40 on diff. *charkha*)

Kukri taken out on 23/10
Time : about 4¾ hours Length : 528½ yards Rate : 111 yds per hour
Weight : 1-2/3 *tola* 1 *r*. Count : 15.1

XXI No spinning on 24th to 28th
29th on Sabarmati *Charkha* 2 hrs
30th " " " ½ hr
Kukri taken out. Time 2½ hrs Length 318 yards
Rate : 127 yds per hour
Weight 14 as 4*r*=11/12th *tola* Count 16½

November

XXII No spinning on 31st October or on 1-4 Nov.
5th Nov. (Sunday) 2 hrs 35 m on Sabarmati *Charkha*
1 hrs 40 m
4 hrs 15 m.

Kukri taken out
Time 4¼ hrs Length 735 yards Rate 173 yds per hr.
Weight 2¼ *tola* 1 *r* Count 15½

Analysis for October

Total weight 3-7/8 *tolas* 5 *r*
Total length 1211 yds
Total time 9½ hours (of this 40 mins on another *charkha*)
Highest Count 16½ Lowest count 13
Average 14.6 (Above includes yarn spun on 30/9 for 1 hr 10 m)

XXIII

Nov. 12th		1 hr 50 m
13th	about 1 hr 55 m	
14th-17th	No spinning	
18th		15 min
		4 hrs

Kukri taken out on 23/11
Length 648 yds—rate 162 yds per hour
Time 4 hours Weight : 2 *tolas* 2 *mashas*
Count 14¼

December

XXIV	December 3rd	1 hr 37 min.
	4th	1 hr 5 min.
		19 min.
	5th	1 hr 2 min.
	6th	40 mins.
	7th	47 mins.
		5 hrs 30 mins

Kukri taken out Time : 5½ hrs.
Length : 274 yards Rate 132 yds per hour (bad!)
(Cotton not very good)
Weight : 2 *tolas* 7 *rattis* Count 16½

XXV Dec 28th, 29th, & 30th and a little some days before. Was unwell in 3rd week and could not spin for many days.
Total time about 5 hrs 35 mins
Length 1004 yards Rate about 180 per hour
Weight 2 *tolas* 7 *mashas* 3 *rattis*=2-59/96 *tolas*
Count about 18¼

31.12.22

January 1923
XXVI (In 5 days) Total time about 6 hours
Length 960 yards Rate c. 160 per hour
Weight 2 *tolas* 9 *mashas* 5 *rattis* (2¾+5 *r*)=2-77/96 *tolas*
Count about 16
Date of taking off 11/1/23

XXVII In 5 days—Total time 6 hours
Length : 1060 yards Rate c. 177 per hour
Weight 2 *tolas* 8 *m* 6 r (=2¾—2 r=2-70/96 *tolas*)
Count : 18½
Date 19/1/23

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10 hanks—Nos : XVIII to XXVII
Total length 7515 yards Weight 21 *tolas* 2 *mashas* 5 *rattis*
Total time spent 41¾ hours Highest Count 22—Lowest 13
average 17
Rate : highest 180 of 18½ count
Spun from 25th Sept 1922 to 19th January 1923

My spinning record in jail to 19th January 1923. (From June 25th 1922)

27 hanks : total weight 48 *tolas* 10¾ *mashas*
Total length 18085 yards
Total time in spinning alone 167 hours
(A great many hours also spent on cognate occupations e.g. cleaning & setting right *charkha*—taking off yarn from spindle &c)
Highest Count 34.1 Lowest 13. Average between 17 & 18 (17½)
Highest rate—on Sabarmati *charkha* 180 yards per hour of 18½ count

BOOKS RETURNED

1—6.	Symonds' Renaissance in Italy 6 vols	Given to Kishanbhai on 31st July 1922 to be returned to Allahabad
7.	Keynes' Economic Consequences of the Peace	
8.	Bevan's German Social Democracy during War	
9	Klein's Science and the Infinite	
10.	Letters from John Chinaman	
11.	Three pamphlets on Sikhism	
12.	Kingsley's Hereward the Wake	
13.	Barnett's "Antiquities of India"	Given to Abul Hasan on 31st August 1922 to be taken to Allahabad
14.	Narendranath Law's "Ancient Indian Polity"	
15.	Mukerjea's "Fundamental Unity of India"	
16.	Pater's "Renaissance"	
17.	Tennyson's "Idylls of the King"	
18.	मेवाड़ पतन	
19.	Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire"—old edition	
20—21.	Tolstoy's "Anna Karenina" 2 vols. Yusuf Imam's. To be forwarded to him.	
22.	Gautier's "Capt Fracasse"	Given to Ranjit on 4/9/22
23.	Mukerjea's "History of Indian Shipping"	
24.	सम्राट अशोक	6 vols given to Kishan Bhai on 18/9 to be returned to Shiva Prasad Gupta
	Devadas's Principles of Sociology by Spencer 3 vols	
	Fabian Tract	
	A Hindi play—not allowed in	

25—30. Kaye & Malleson's History of Indian Mutiny 6 Vols. —Given to Abul Hasan on 18/9

31. Trilingual Dictionary—Given to mother &c on 25/9
A large number of Devadas's books which were not allowed in by the Supdt.

32. वैज्ञानिक अद्वैतवाद —Returned to office as book probably not meant for me 18/10

MY WEIGHT IN JAIL

(As noted by me on the jail weighing machine)

1922		
June 15th	118 lbs	
(? July 1st	116 lbs)	
July 4th	114 lbs	(I was fasting on this day)
July 8th	115 lbs	
August 9th	114 lbs	Weighed at 10 a.m. before midday meal.
September 7th	115 lbs	„ 5 p.m. just after having some bread & butter
September 20th	117 lbs	„ 9.30 a.m. before midday meal but after morning bread & milk &c
October 25th	117 lbs	„ 11 a.m. before midday meal
October 30th	1 *md* 17 S 3 *ch.*	=117¼ lbs on a new weighing machine (the one used for grain &c) at 4.30 p.m. just after evening refreshments.
Nov. 17th	119 lbs	on old weighing machine (hanging one) at 5 p.m. in evening
Dec. 10th	119 lbs	Do Do Do at 11 a.m. (before meal)
Dec. 26th	117½ lbs	Do Do Do at 5 p.m.
Jan. 3rd	120 lbs	Do Do at 11 a.m. (before midday meal)
January 22nd	121 lbs	Do Do at about 3 p.m. (after unusually heavy meal)

LIST OF BOOKS WITH ME IN JAIL

1. The Koran (Mohamad Ali's translation)
2. The Bible
3. The Bhagawad Gita (Annie Besant & Bhagwan Das)
4. Do text only (F.T. B's)
5-6. Do 2 pocket editions
Retd. 7-12. Symonds' Italian Renaissance 6 Vols—1 to 7 (3 missing)
13. Arnold's Light of Asia
14-17. Manucci's Storia do Mogor 4 vols
18. Bernier's Travels
19. Sarkar's Shivaji
20. Vincent Smith's Akbar
21. Havell's Aryan Rule in India (with Khaliq)
22. Memoirs of Babar
23. Edgar Allan Poe's Tales (with Nawab)
Retd. 24-29. Kaye & Malleson's Indian Mutiny 6 vols
30. F.W. Bain's Heifer of the Dawn (with Nawab)
Retd. 31. Kingsley's Hereward the Wake
Retd. 32. Bryce's Holy Roman Empire—old edition
Retd. 33. Tennyson's Idylls of the King
34. Keats' Poems G.T.S.
35. Shelley's Poems G.T.S.
36. Ram Charit Manas
Retd. 37. Bevan's German Social Democracy
Retd. 38. Keynes' Economic Consequences of the Peace
Retd. 39. Sydney Klein's Science & the Infinite
Retd. 40. Three Sikh tracts
41. *Tarke Mamelat dusre mulkon men* (Urdu)
42. Graham Wallas—Human Nature in Politics.
43. Lawrie's Epitome of Domestic Medicine.
Yusuf Imam's | 44. Tolstoy's Master & Man &c Also Retd | Ivan Karenina [Sic] (two vols.) & Capt. Fracasse | Retd Retd
45. —do— Childhood Youth &c
46. Turgenev's Liza
47. Wordsworth's Sonnets (Temple Classics)
48. Trine's In Tune with the Infinite
Retd. 49. Walter Pater's Renaissance
50. *Kumuk-i-Urdu*

	51.	Second Book of Urdu	
Retd.	52.	Letters from John Chinaman	
	53.	Wells' Outline of History with P.D.T.	
	54.	Light of Asia—2nd copy—? with Nawab?	
Retd.	55.	Trilingual Dictionary	
Retd.	56.	Barnett's Antiquities of India	Received 9/8/22
	57.	Amir Ali's History of Saracens	
	58.	Selections from Lamb—L.M.	
	59.	Garibaldi & the Thousand by Trevelyan	
	60.	Hindustani English Dictionary	
	61.	Gutka Hindi Kosh	
	62.	Wilde's Ballad of Reading Gaol	
Retd.	63.	Radha Kumud Mukerjea's History of Indian Shipping	Received by me from office 14/8/22
Retd.	64.	—do— Fundamental Unity of India	
Retd.	65.	Narendranath Law's Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity	
	66.	श्रीधर भाषा कोष	
	67 to 73.	Gibbon's Decline & Fall of Roman Empire 7 vols	
Retd.		(Shiva Prasad's personal copy)	Received from Shiva Prasad Gupta on 17/8/22
	74.	सम्राट अशोक	
	75.	दुर्गादास – द्विजेन्द्रलाल राय	
	76.	मेवाड़ पतन – ,,	
	77.	फूलों का गुच्छा – नाथूराम प्रेमी	
	78.	छत्रसाल – रामचन्द्र वर्मा	Received from S.P.G. on 17.8.22 7 vols.
	79.	करुणा – राखलदास बंदोपाध्याय	
	80.	शशांक – ,,	

81. आश्रम भजनावली (6 Copies) (Given to Mannilal, Radhakant and Murari, Prem Narain, Vishwamitra)

82. Bryce's Holy Roman Empire—new edition—recd. by me on 6/9/22.

83. Modern Review—6 numbers—June to September (2 nos for July August September)—received by me on 6/9/22

84-85. Tod's Rajasthan—translated into Hindi—2 vols recd on 13/9 probably from S. P. Gupta

86.	शाहजहाँ–द्विजेन्द्रलाल राय S. P. Gupta's personal copy on 17/9	
87-88.	Trans-Himalaya by Sven Hedin 2 vols	on 18/9
89.	Sherring's Western Tibet & the British Borderland	
90.	Vincent Smith's Early History of India	Received on 25/9
91.	Early Travels in India 1583-1619 edited by W. Foster	
92.	Aspects of Ancient Hindu Policy by N. Law	
93.	Beal's Buddhist Records of the Ancient World	
94.	Modern Review for October & November	
95.	"Hindu Images" by Bhattacharya	Received on 4/10/22
96.	Gita—Bhagwan Das & Besant —2nd copy—for Devadas	
97.	Elementary Algebra	Received on 10/10/22 brought by Abul Hasan
98.	Shakespeare's King John, Twelfth Night,	
to 108.	Taming of the Shrew, Merry Wives of Windsor, Troilus & Cressida, Winter's Tale, Macbeth, Measure for Measure, Merchant of Venice, Julius Caesar—Sonnets	
109.	कविता कौमुदी – पहला भाग	Received by me on 14/10
110.	पथिक	
111.	Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam	
112.	Chardenal's First French Course	
Retd. 113.	वैज्ञानिक अद्वैतवाद (by Ramdas Gaur)	(why has this book come and from whom?)
114.	Tennyson's Idylls of the King	Recd. from office on 19/10
115.	Tolstoy's Essays	
116.	Gita Rahasya in Hindi	" " 30/10
117.	Humorous Anthology	Recd. on 14/11
118.	Harrow Association Record	

119.	Shelley's Complete Poetical Works	Brought by Kamala on 30/11 — delivered to me after being passed by Magte, on 14/12/22
120.	Byron's Complete Poetical Works	
121.	D. G. Rosetti's —do— —do—	
122.	Christina Rosetti's —do—	
123.	Swinburne's Poems—Vol. I	
124.	Mill's Liberty	
125.	J. E. Carpenter's Comparative Religion (Home Univ.)	Left with me by Mahadeva Desai on his discharge on 23.1.23
126.	Ruskin's "Sesame & Lilies" &c	
127.	„ „ "Time & Tide," „ "Crown of Wild Olive"	
128.	„ "Unto this Last", Munera Pulveris	
129-130.	Carlyle's French Rev. 2 vols.	
131.	Wells' Mr. Britling Sees it Through	

BOOKS READ IN JAIL

From 21st May 1922

1.	Kingsley's "Hereward the Wake"	
2.	Theophile Gautier—"Capt Fracasse"	
3.	Turgenev's "Rudin"	21. 5. to 29. 5.
4.	Kaye & Malleson's Indian Mutiny Vol. II	
5.	Report of American Commission on Ireland	
6.	Turgenev's "Virgin Soil" 29/5	
7.	Malleson's Indian Mutiny Vol. IV	June 22
8.	Blunt's "Secret History of English Occupation in Egypt"	June
9.	Malleson's Ind Mutiny Vol. V	June
10.	Do Do Vol. VI	June
11.	A novel	June
12.	Symond's Italian Renaissance Vol. I Age of Despots and part of Vol. II	June
13.	Digby's "Prosperous British India (Skipping latter portion)	
14.	Athalye's "Life of Lokamanya Tilak"	11/7
15.	Bain's "Heifer of the Dawn" (for the 5th or 6th time)	
16.	Urdu Reader II	
17.	Do Do for III & IV classes	
18.	Turgenev's "Liza"	26/7/22
19.	Havell's "Aryan Rule in India" (took copious notes)	10/8/22
20.	Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables" 2 vols.	12/8/22
21.	Some of Edgar Allan Poe's Tales – (July)	
22.	Tried to read a book on Einstein's Theory — rather heavy — mathematics too difficult for me — Had to return it then without making much progress (June)	
23.	"Antiquities of India" by Dr. Barnett	15/8/22
24.	R. K. Mukherjea's "Fundamental Unity of India"	15/8/22
25.	Narendra Nath Law's "Ancient Hindu Polity"	18/8/22
26.	Rabindra Nath Tagore's "The Wreck"	20/8/
27.	मेवाड़ पतन—द्विजेन्द्र लाल राय	23/8/

28.	Radhakumud Mukerjea's "History of Indian Shipping"	24/8/
29.	Tolstoy's "Anna Karenina" 2 vols.	29/8/
30.	Walter Pater's "The Renaissance"	30/8/
31.	Oscar Wilde's Ballad of Reading Gaol (a re-reading)	2/9/22
32.	सम्राट अशोक—मराठी से अनुवादक—पं० हरिभाऊ उपाध्याय	8/9/22
33.	प्रेमाश्रम—प्रेमचन्द	7/10/22
34.	*Kumuk-i-Urdu* (except last few pages)	7/10/22
35.	Ameer Ali's History of Saracens — (took copious notes)	21/10/22
36.	Tolstoy's "Master & Man & other Parables & Tales" (Everyman)	26/10/
37.	Romain Rolland's "The Fourteenth of July" and "Danton" translated by Bennett H. Clark (Allen and Unwin 1919)	31/10/22
38.	Arnold's "Preaching of Islam" (full notes)	2/11/22
39.	J. B. Bury's "History of Freedom of Thought" Home University Library (notes)	10/11/22
40.	Shakespeare's "Macbeth" with Devadas &c	10/11/22
41.	Victor Hugo's "Ninety-three"	12/11/22
42.	Morley's "Studies in Literature"	19/11/22
43.	Tagore's "Waterfall" (in May 22, Modern Rev)	20/11/
44.	Dickens' "Tale of Two Cities"	22/11/
45.	Bernard Shaw's "Back to Methuselah" — Preface & Play	30/11/
46.	H. G. Wells' "The Outline of History"	15/12/22
47.	Gibbon's "Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire" Vol. I	20/12/22
48.	Gibbon's Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire Vol. II	26/12/
49.	" " " " " III	1/1/23
50.	" " " " " IV	10/1/23
51.	" " " " " V	18/1/23
52.	With Devadas : Tennyson's "Idylls of the King", Science Primers : Physical Geography & Geology	17/1/
53.	J. N. Carpenter's "Theology of Tulsi Dass" (C.L.S.I.)	22/1/
54.	Gibbon's "Decline & Fall" Vol. VI	28/1/23
55.	Ruskin's Sesame & Lilies (with Devadas)	29/1/23

LETTERS RECEIVED

Date of receipt

1.	28th May	Letter from father (Naini Tal Jail) dt. 24/5/
2.	12th June	Letter from Kamala dated 30/5
3.	17th June	Letter from Kamala dt. ?
4.	27th June	„ „ „ dt. 22/6
5.	10th July	Letter from father dt. 8/7 from Allahabad (with note from Kamala)
6.	1st August	Letter from father dated 25/7 from Madras (begun on 22/7 at Bombay)
		(8th Aug. a Hindi letter from a lady in Bharatpur sent to me. I returned it saying that I would not accept it as my fortnightly letter.)
7.	17th August	Letter from Kamala & mother dated 12/8 from Bombay. (sent on receipt of my letter No. 6 dt. 2/8
8.	31st August	Letter from father (Allahabad) dt. 25th-27th August.
9.	15th Sept.	Letter from Kamala (Allahabad) dt. 10/9
10.	30th Sept.	„ „ „ „ dt. 28/9
11.	16th October	„ „ Father „ dt. 11/10
12.	31st October	„ „ Kamala (Dehra Dun & train) dt. 27th
13.	14th Nov.	Jt. Letter from father & Kamala dated 12.14.11 from Allahabad by messenger.
14.	13th Dec.	Letter from Kamala dated 8/9-12 from Allahabad.
15.	18th January 1923	Letter from father dated 13/15-1 from Allahabad.

LETTERS SENT

1.	27th May	Letter to Kamala dated 25th posted 27th.
2.	2nd June	Letter to father, Naini Tal Jail.
3.	16th June	„ to Kamala
4.	1st July	„ „ dt. 30/6 — posted 1/7
5.	13th July	Sent letter (25 pages) for father to jailer — held up for several days.
	17th	Letter to father (Bombay) posted — dt. 13th postscript dt. 17th added Regtd.

6.	2nd August	Letter to Kamala sent to Jailer —
	7th August	„ „ posted registered A/D (to Bombay)
7.	18th August	Letter to father (in English) sent to office dt. 17th/18th Aug.
	21st August	„ „ posted registered to Allahabad.
8.	1st September	Letter to father (in English) sent to office dated 1/9/22.
	4th September	Letter to father posted registered to Allahabad.
9.	15th Sept.	Letter to Kamala in Hindi — sent to office dated 15/9 at 3 p.m.
	18th Sept.	Letter to Kamala given to Abul Hasan to be taken to Allahabad.
10.	1st October	Letter to father (with note on health) dated 30th September/1st October sent to office at 7.40 a.m.
	3rd October	Letter to father (with note on health) dt. 30 Sept./1st October posted registered to Allahabad after heavy censoring in office.
11.	17th October	Letter to father dated 17th October — sent to office at 11.30 a.m.
	19th October	Letter to father posted registered to Allahabad.
12.	1st Nov.	Letter to Kamala (Dehra Dun) dt. 1/11 sent to office at 11 a.m.
	2nd Nov.	Letter to Kamala (Dehra Dun) posted registered to Dehra Dun.
		(From now onwards new rules. Letters once a month) (Am informed that I can send another fortnightly letter before rules apply.)
13.	16th Nov.	Sent Letter to father (with note on health) dt. 15th/16th Nov. at 10 a.m. (to be forwarded from Allahabad to Calcutta)
	18th	-do- posted registered.
14.	9th Dec.	(2nd week for our barrack henceforth) Letter to Kamala (Allahabad) sent to office in morning dt. 8/12/22
	11th Dec.	„ „ posted registered
15.	19th January 1923	Letter to Kamala to Allahabad dt. 18/19-1-23 sent to office at 8 a.m.
	22nd	„ „ „ posted registered.

14. Prison Note Books[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru
District Jail, Lucknow
Prisoner No : 4126 July 1922

NOTES AND QUOTATIONS

Volume I

INDIAN HISTORY AND MISCELLANEOUS

Index

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Notes on Radhakumud Mukerjea's "Fundamental Unity of India"	...	111 to 116
Notes on Radhakumud Mukerjea's "History of Indian Shipping"	...	117 to 138
Notes on Narendra Nath Law's "Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity" Vol. I	...	140 to 143
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1. N.M.M.L.
In prison, Jawaharlal started, in notebooks bound specially for him in *khadi*, a series of what he called "Notes and Quotations". Here are reproduced the lists drawn up by him of the books he read, his own comments on them and other matters and the quotations taken down by him. Only the detailed summaries made by him of the books he read have been omitted. For the extracts included, page references to the prison notebooks have been given.

[*Page 101*][2]

August 10th 1922

An excellent sketch of early Indian history. Avoids too many details and yet gives a connected and interesting narrative. The author has entered into the spirit of Hindu India and has written in a thoroughly sympathetic and appreciative vein. He is somewhat bitter at places against Mohammadans. Perhaps this is largely due to anger at the destruction by the early invaders of many noble buildings in India. His criticisms appear to be justified — on the whole a well balanced book which every Indian should read. It brings out something of the glory of ancient India.

J. Nehru

In barrack No. 4 of the District Jail, Lucknow.

2. A comment on Havell's *Aryan Rule in India.*

[*Pages 104—105*]

This book — Barnett's "Antiquities of India" — is an extraordinary example of labour without understanding, of perspiration without any inspiration. This is often found in books on Oriental subjects by European scholars. They start with a presumption of superiority and never really understand their subject in spite of great industry. Barnett must have read a vast number of books on India and the East and yet he is utterly ignorant of his subject, or rather he is in a worse position, he has gone off on the wrong track. With great labour he has collected together oddities, absurdities, obscenities and the many crudities which have grown round the religion and social customs of Ancient India and he judges of old times by these and piously holds up his hands in horror! As if these are the sum total of social life in India. Books of this kind are very misleading and must do a lot of mischief. Barnett is sure to be quoted as an authority on the subject; although he knows as much about it as Macaulay's schoolboy.

J. Nehru

Janam Ashtimi August 15th 1922

[*Page* 107]

George Meredith — For the Centenary of Garibaldi
(Times July 1 07)

"We who have seen Italia in the throes,
Half risen but to be hurled to the ground, and now,
Like a ripe field of wheat where once drove plough,
All bounteous as she is fair, we think of those
Who blew the breath of life into her frame :
Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi : Three :
Her Brain, her Soul, her Sword; and set her free
From ruinous discords, with one lustrous aim. . . ."

(From Trevelyan's Garibaldi & the Thousand p. 8.)

"O miseri, O Codardi
Figlivoli avrai, miseri eleggi."

Leopardi to his Sister on her marriage, 1821.

"Thou shalt have children either cowards or
unhappy; choose then the unhappy."

(From Trevelyan G. & the T. p. 38)

[*Page* 108]

Byron : *Marino Faliero* Act II Sc 2.

"Such ties are not
For those who are called to the high destinies
Which purify corrupted commonwealths;
We must forget all feelings save the one,
We must resign all passions save our purpose,
We must behold no object save our country,
And only look on death as beautiful,
So that the sacrifice ascend to heaven,
And draw down freedom on her evermore."

Montrose

"He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all."

[*Page 109*]
Carlyle : *Cromwell* iii 30
"In the dark perils of war, in the high places of the field, hope shone in him like a pillar of fire, when it had gone out in all the others."

Swinburne *Halt Before Rome* (Songs before Sunrise)

"Surely the day is on our side,
And heaven and the sacred sun;
Surely the stars, and the bright
Immemorial inscrutable night;
Yea, the darkness, because of our light,
Is no darkness, but blooms as a bower-side,
When the winter is over and done."

[*Pages 156—159*]
The Ballad of Reading Gaol — by Oscar Wilde.

. . . . .

I never saw a man who looked
With such a wistful eye
Upon that little tent of blue
Which prisoners call the sky,
And at every drifting cloud that went
With sails of silver by.

. . . . .

Yet each man kills the thing he loves
By each let this be heard,
Some do it with a bitter look,
Some with a flattering word,
The coward does it with a kiss,
The brave man with a sword!

Some kill their love when they are young,
And some when they are old;
Some strangle with the hands of Lust,
Some with the hands of Gold :
The kindest use a knife, because
The dead so soon grow cold.

Some love too little, some too long,
Some sell, and others buy;
Some do the deed with many tears,
And some without a sigh:

For each man kills the thing he loves,
Yet each man does not die.

. . . . .

For oak and elm have pleasant leaves
That in the springtime shoot:
But grim to see is the gallows-tree,
With its adder-bitten root,
And green or dry, a man must die
Before it bears its fruit!

. . . . .

With slouch and swing around the ring
We trod the Fools' Parade!
We did not care: we knew we were
The Devil's Own Brigade:
And shaven head and feet of lead
Make a merry masquerade.

. . . . .

"Oho!" they cried, "The world is wide,
But fettered limbs go lame!
And once or twice to throw the dice
Is a gentlemanly game,
But he does not win who plays with Sin
In the Secret House of Shame."

. . . . .

For he who lives more lives than one
More deaths than one must die.

. . . . .

For his mourners will be outcast men.
And outcasts always mourn.

. . . . .

The vilest deeds like poison weeds
Bloom well in prison-air:
It is only what is good in Man
That wastes and withers there:
Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate,
And the Warder is Despair.

. . . . .

For they starve the little frightened child
Till it weeps both night and day:
And they scourge the weak, and flog the fool
And gibe the old and gray,
And some grow mad, and all grow bad,
And none a word may say.

.....

For only blood can wipe out blood,
And only tears can heal.

In barrack number four of the District Jail, Lucknow 3rd September 1922.

[*Pages 160–161*]

"When, dearest, I but think of thee,
Methinks all things that lovely be
Are present, and my soul delighted....."

Sir John Suckling

"Fair one, you did on me bestow
Comparisons too sweet to owe....."

King

"If men be judged wise by their beards and their girth,
Then goats were the wisest of creatures on earth"
Quoted in the 'New Statesman' — 12th August, 1922

"When order is injustice, disorder is the beginning of justice" (Hoche in Romain Rolland's "Fourteenth of July")

"The world is taking little heed;
It plods from day to day,
The vulgar flourish like a weed,
The learned pass away."

[*Pages 177–179*]
Ninety-three by *Victor Hugo* —English Translation

"Curiosity is one of the forms of feminine bravery." (p. 12)
"Thus it is that Paris sways back and forth; it is the enormous pendulum of civilisation; it touches either pole in turn, Thermopylae and Gomorrah." (p. 127)

"The liberty of each citizen ends where the liberty of another citizen commences." (axiom promulgated by the Convention—p. 197)

"All good luck—even successes which are in themselves terrible — go to youth. Victory is feminine." (p. 246)

"The bronze mask of civil war has two profiles, the one turned toward the past, the other set toward the future, but both equally tragic. Lantenac was the first of these profiles, Cimourdain the second; only the bitter sneer of Lantenac was full of shadow and night, and on the fatal brow of Cimourdain shone a gleam from the morning." (p. 302)
*Quoted by Morley who gives different translation.
"The waking of children is like the unclosing of flowers: a perfume seems to exhale from those fresh young souls." (p. 314)
"If God had meant man to go backwards, he would have placed an eye in the back of his head." (Gauvain speaking of progress in his dungeon to Cimourdain just prior to death — p. 456)
"The deformity of human laws is forced to exhibit itself naked amid the dazzling rays of eternal beauty. Man breaks and destroys; man lays waste; man kills: but the summer remains summer; the lily remains the lily; the star remains the star." (p. 463)

12 November 1922

"Cimourdain had the blind certitude of the arrow, which only sees the mark and makes for it. In revolution, nothing so formidable as the straight line. Cimourdain strode forward with fatality in his step. He believed that in social genesis the very extreme point must always be solid ground, an error peculiar to minds that for reason substitute logic."
"Reasoning counselled one thing; sentiment another; the two counsels were contradictory. Reasoning is only reason; sentiment is often conscience; the one comes from man, the other from a loftier source. That is why sentiment has less distinctness, and more might. Yet what strength in the severity of reason! Gauvain hesitated. His perplexity was so fierce."
(Quoted by Morley in his essay on "Ninety-Three")

"Such work is always open to criticism and it is always above it." (Newman's remark about something—quoted by Morley about V.H's 93)

13.11.22

Jawaharlal Nehru
= District Jail = Lucknow =
Volume II

Notes of Books — Quotations & c.
Islamic History & c.

Begun on September 5th 1922.

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Notes from Amir Ali's "History of the Saracens	..	5 to 110
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[*Pages 151—152*]
India in World Politics by Tarak Nath Das

(Huebsch 1923)

Report of what Enver Pasha told author :

"The best way an Indian can aid Turkey and the World is by concentrating all efforts on the freedom of India, because without a free India it will be hard for Turkey to maintain her national independence. Above all every Indian Mohammadan should learn that they have to cooperate with the Hindus as Indians, and that religious fanaticism must be banished from the field of national and international politics, unless the world is to go back to the darkness of Middle Ages." (p. 44)

"The question of Imperialism, therefore.....is peculiarly a question of India, and the freedom of India is thus essentially an interest of the World." (R. M. Lovell's introduction)

General Lea — "The 3 countries that possess pre-eminent strategic positions are : Great Britain, Japan & India." (p. 9).

Peter the Great's will —

Art viii. "Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and that he who can exclusively command it is dictator of Europe." (p. 20)

Political control of trade routes between Asia and Europe had a great deal to do with crusades against Islam. (p. 33)

Not continued.

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15. To Father[1]

District Jail,
Lucknow
July 13, 1922

My dear Father,
I have received your kind letter. I was greatly pleased to see and read it. This is your first letter in Hindi to me. Your letter, before I got it, was censored and some seven lines were cut out with scissors. As

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. Original in Hindi.

the letter was written only on one side of the paper this could be easily done. Before the part cut out was this sentence "By 20th August I hope to reach Allahabad, provided before then I am not sent to Lucknow Jail". Some lines then are missing and then comes this sentence, "I do not mind all this, but when I think that for the rest of my life I may not be able to see you, then of course I am upset and do get a shock". Between these two sentences, you may have written something about the rumours of your arrest. Anyway, I am lucky that the rest of the letter is complete and it has not been shown any special favour by the jail authorities.

You need not worry at all about my health. I am looking after it carefully and I think jail life will do it some good. It is not so hot now, and the heat affected me very little. At Allahabad you may remember, I did not have a fan in my office. When I had got used to that heat and could stand it easily, this is nothing. The nights are pretty cold and during the day also there is often a pleasant breeze. Sometimes, of course, it is humid, but I am not worried about that. So please do not send me any kind of fan. A fan, if it arrived, would disturb me. Jost fans I do not like and small electric fans too are no good. But even if there be any good fan, I do not want it. I find the accumulation of luggage in the barrack a nuisance.

I received the books sent by you. I have now got the following :

1. Memoirs of Babar
2. Sarkar's Shivaji
3. Bernier's Travels
4. Vincent Smith's Akbar
5. Manucci's Storia do Mogor — 4 vols.
6. Bryce's Holy Roman Empire
7. Poems of Keats
8. Poems of Shelley
9. Tennyson's Idylls of the King
10. Arnold's Light of Asia
11. Havell's Aryan Rule in India
    (this came separately)
12. Pater's Renaissance (received yesterday)

I had asked for many other books which are in Anand Bhawan but have not yet been sent. Perhaps nobody could find them, but please look for them again. I do not want these books to be bought again. I am certain that the books whose names I have written are in Anand Bhawan. Please tell Nand Kishore to look for them carefully once more. The names are given in my previous letter, so there is no need to list them again.

I have not as yet got the almirah for books. The earlier it comes the better, otherwise the books may be damaged. The almirah should be small and fitted with a lock. Kishan Bhai is probably not in Lucknow these days, for otherwise he would have arranged for this. It will be difficult for Govind Malaviya to send the almirah from Allahabad. Please ask Shiv Raj Narayan, Mohanlal Saxena or Ram Chandra[2] (if any of these be in Lucknow) and they will procure it for me.

I had heard about *The Independent* and Upson[3]. You did very well by making over all the responsibility to others. Upson's salary seems to be a bit high, but sitting here I can't say anything. I hope the new manager will be better. Economy should be fully observed.

I have received your detailed programme and so am sending this letter to Bombay to the address of Shankarlal[4]. After Bombay and Poona, I think, mother and Kamala should come back to Allahabad and rest for a few days. It does not seem necessary just yet for Kamala to go to Calcutta. There will be many other chances later to see the city. The weather also is not good there these days and her going will cause inconvenience to you.

Please meet Grimwood Mears[5]. I hear he is very cross with me and he also gave his opinion against me in my case. Had it come up before him, he would have extended the term of imprisonment. I have for a long time been expecting him to take action against me and to debar me from the courts. I would like to give him a bit of my mind.

I had asked for the statement and accounts from the Allahabad Bank, Calcutta, for income tax purposes and to consult Birju Bhai. You would have done whatever was necessary regarding the income tax. As for the shares, please do consult Jamna Lalji. Send a copy of the statements to Birju Bhai also. There is hardly any scope for dividing the shares or changing the ownership. I do not remember whether we got the money from the British India Corporation Ltd. Please enquire from the bank, and if we have not got the money, then write to the Corporation.

2. (1863-1932); practised law in Lucknow and after 1919 was a devoted follower of Motilal Nehru.
3. G. D. Upson, a journalist recommended by B. G. Horniman for the editorship of *The Independent*.
4. Shankarlal Banker (b. 1889); participated in the Home Rule movement in Bombay; a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi; was very active in the All India Spinners Association.
5. Sir Grimwood Mears (1869-1932); at this time Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court; tried to persuade Jawaharlal to give up his opposition to British rule.

Can you recollect Malloo? He used to work for you here and you liked him. He has now been released and told me that he would go straight to you. The problem of servants that you are facing these days will to some extent be lessened by his arrival. He has served as an orderly to Col. Bhola Nath[6] and knows the work.

Have you taken any decision regarding the law books? My opinion is that if they are not disposed of quickly they will be damaged and become useless. You, me or anyone else like us cannot check the lists or ascertain their price. Give this job to some bookseller. I think, when you go to Calcutta, you should talk to Cambray[7] to correct the lists, ascertain their price and, better still, buy the books. He may not pay much. But still, it will be better if we get rid of these law books. Cambray may pay a thousand or two less. But, if you do not sell them off immediately to him, the loss incurred would be ten times more and the problem would be with us all the time. But please keep any law books which have literary or political significance, such as political and State trials, books on constitutional law, etc.

If a man from Cambray comes, please ask him to make a list of the other books also and arrange them properly. They are in a very bad state these days as there is no one to look after them. The books are scattered in every room. My room is full of them. If you or I need any book it is found with great difficulty or is not traceable at all. Many books which I had asked for, it seems, are not traceable, though I am positive that they are there. I have been sent here an extremely old edition (1887) of Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, but the new edition must be somewhere in the house. If lists are properly prepared and the books arranged in some order on the shelves, it will be convenient and you too would be able to find them easily.

I used to get from abroad the *Nation* and the *New Statesman* every week. I do not know if they are still received. If they do come, then please send them to me. I do not think the superintendent will have any objection. If they are not being received from abroad, then do not please renew the subscription. Please keep sending the *Modern Review*. I want to see the issues of both June and July.

All the things sent by Kamala from Delhi to me as well as the rolls of cotton, two mats, etc., have reached me.

I do not need any money. I can cash a cheque whenever I want. I do not know the state of my bank account; perhaps I have an overdraft. I have asked Kamala, but she has not answered this question.

6. Civil Surgeon at Allahabad.

7. Cambray and Co. (Calcutta), a well-known publisher of law books.

A day after my arrest there was to be an attachment of goods at Anand Bhawan to realise my fine. What happened to that? Have Rs. 100 been realised?

I had asked for a few notebooks, but I no longer need them. I am getting good notebooks made in the jail itself.

Our *charkhas* are working well but still I want to have the new style *charkha* from the Sabarmati Ashram. I asked Maganlal Bhai[8] last March to send me one, but he has not done so. Please write to him to send me a *charkha* direct to the jail address. Particular care should be taken of the spindle. He should also send one of the carding machines made in the Ashram.

You were planning to retain Ram Chandra. Is he working as your Secretary?

I am learning Urdu these days, and hope to write to you soon in Urdu. Please send me an Urdu dictionary. Ram Narain Lal[9] published one, and it should be in Anand Bhawan.

I am worried to know that Nanni is not improving in health. You wrote that she may not be able to go to Bombay. If she cannot go to Bombay from Ahmedabad, how will she return to Allahabad?

All the political prisoners from Agra have now come here — Joseph, Mahadev, Bal Krishna Kaul and others. Bal Krishna is to be released in a few days.

I am so pleased to read about you in the newspapers. We are all very attentively following your programme and been greatly impressed with the whole-heartedness of your efforts. I am only worried about your health. If you looked after it, then you could work better than many young men.

Polak was here a couple of days back to see me and Devadas but as we had stopped interviews, we refused to see him. I do not know what was reported to him and how he took it. He is an extreme moderate these days, and perhaps could not understand our principle. I do not want him to think that we were annoyed with him and so did not meet him.

The news that you have received about the interviews is incomplete, and also incorrect. You can understand that we would not stop meeting our friends and dear ones unless there was some adequate and strong reason. No one relishes refusing interviews. You know well all the persons here, so there is no need to write more. What we specially

8. Maganlal Gandhi; son of Mahatma Gandhi's cousin.
9. A popular bookseller in Allahabad.

objected to was not any particular regulation — although the regulations as a whole are very bad — but the behaviour of the jail authorities. All, from top to bottom, behave in the same way. Many things occurred during interviews which we strongly disliked. There is no need to write about them in detail. The worst aspect was the manner of letting us have our interviews. Whenever I had an interview, there had always been an officer present. When Mother, Betty, Lado Bhabhi and others had come we met in the office and the jailer was sitting there with pen and ink to note down everything we said. You can understand that this was not a pleasant business. But I neither complained then nor do I do so now. Jail officials have the right to frame such rules and abide by them. The superintendent had probably directed the jailer to behave in this way. But our complaints were about searches and the way the searches were carried out. Every warder is ready to rebuke us and the visitors who come to see us. We realised that all these actions of the jail authorities were specially intended to tease and humiliate us. We did not wish to give them further opportunities of doing this and so we decided to refuse all interviews. Otherwise every day there was a fear that some such thing might happen which might enrage us and lead us to do something which we might regret. During the last few weeks, however, the jail authorities have changed their behaviour, and with those few who had interviews, they behaved in a better way. I hope this improvement continues. It is then possible that we may resume our interviews. If they are resumed, I shall let you know. Otherwise you can take it that we are not meeting any visitors. If, after resuming the interviews, something disagreeable again happens, then we may have to stop them again.

In my last letter to Kamala I had written that I am happy that we got a sound reason for stopping the interviews, and had referred to Bapuji and others. This, I hear, the jail authorities have interpreted and declared to others as meaning that I have no complaint in jail, and it is only out of consideration for Gandhiji that I do not want to have interviews. This is completely wrong. It is, of course, my opinion that the greater the hardship imposed upon us, the greater the benefit, for it will make us stronger. For this reason I liked the hardship of having no interviews. I also thought that we should curb our becoming much too social. It is better to remain prepared for all eventualities in the future. In jail everyone has a chance of acquiring sound self-discipline. But even if I had wanted to stop interviews, I would not have done it unless forced to do so. Just because of my whims I do not wish Mother and others to be put to hardship. It is now more than a month since I saw anyone from outside. I have not been to any other barrack even during this period. My

horizon is my barrack wall. From there the sun rises and there it sets. I am very happy all the same. I have gained a lot during this month. So long as the sky, the stars and the moon are visible there is no reason why I should be idle. These days, in particular, the beauty of the rains is seen almost every day, and it is delightful to watch the multi-coloured clouds. The superintendent says that no beautiful or good thing should be allowed inside the jail (by accident he has said something very true — very few of the nobler things of the world can enter here — truth, mercy, love etc., are stopped at the gate!). But it is a consolation that the jail authorities have not the power to keep God and His nature out of jail.

What you have written about our not meeting each other has made me sad. I am confident that I shall see you and see you soon. What are a few months in the life of a person? And you have yet to complete your second half century. This idea (of not seeing me again) you have been thinking about for long. After gaining Swaraj we have much to do and Swaraj is now, I am sure, very close at hand. The progress made by us in the last year and a half surprises me. We have put life into a dead body. What is left now? There may probably not be another example of such stupendous progress in the whole world. We, who are engaged in the struggle, cannot see it clearly; but the rest of the world sees it and is amazed. I for one am very confident.

What use is it to see you for a short while? I don't feel satisfied seeing you for a few minutes, nor can we talk much. But you are always before my mind's eye.

I have just come to know that some of our books are with Mahadeva Desai and Purshottam. I will enquire. But as far as I know Mahadeva has very few books. He is in another barrack. Ranga Iyer is in Fyzabad. He may now soon be released. What are you going to do about him?

Love to all. Give my love to Umar Sobhani. Indira must be very happy at Bombay.

This letter goes care of the address of Shankarlal. To what address should I send the next letter? You may be somewhere near Madras at that time. I intend writing to Kamala this time and if no other address is sent to me, then to her also I will write care of Shankarlal. Writing letters from here reminds me of writing from abroad. From there I had to write every week and from here once every two weeks. I had had this habit of regular letter-writing for seven to eight years, so now I do not mind this.

Adab to Hakim Sahib. I still have a desire to serve him. He told me that he would call me to Delhi but he has not done so. Instead of Delhi I have reached the District Jail, Lucknow!

It appears from your letter that you may also again be coming here. But at this point the letter has been cut, so nothing more can be known. Anyhow, if you come, I shall be very happy; and if you do not come, then it would be better still. Coming to jail again is to be doubly blessed. I say so perhaps because in the terminology of jail I am a 'second timer'. I am very proud when I think of my good fortune. In my statement I referred to this. But one very significant aspect I had not thought it proper to mention in that statement because that was my personal affair and I did not like to state it to strangers. The reason for my being happy and being amazed at my good fortune was this, that I have got a father and mother who always placed a lofty ideal before me and always added to my strength and spirit. And my other near relations also have, according to the same ideals, tried to serve the nation. How many persons are there with such good fortune in the whole world? You have written something about renouncing the world. In a way it is correct; but in another, and probably in the real sense, I have seen the real world now and I am enjoying it fully. The earlier world now seems absolutely insignificant and useless. Now I understand a little what Jesus meant when he asked us to forsake the world and save the soul.

Do not conclude from all this that I am lost in metaphysical and philosophical matters and am running away from the ordinary, worldly, state. Reading your letter some such ideas cropped up for a while and I have written them down. Ordinarily the time here is passed in children's games.

This letter has now become too long. The superintendent will be hard put to it to read it all. I have come to know that he has some special interest in my letters. This time he may get a bit tired!

With very much love,

Your loving son
Jawahar
(Prisoner No. 4126)

What are Jivan and Nikkoo doing these days?

16. To Father[1]

District Jail
Lucknow
August 17, 1922

My dear Father,

I received a letter from Kamala (dated 12th), together with a note from mother, this afternoon and I hasten to write my allotted letter. It is already more than two weeks since I wrote my last letter, although it was not sent till much later. I do not know if the two weeks will be computed from the date of my sending the letter to the office or from the date of despatch. On the last occasion it took five days for the letter to be finally posted. I wonder what transpired during those five days. Was the poor letter lying unheeded and uncared for in a pigeon-hole of the office or in a file on the Superintendent's table? Or was it carefully and anxiously scanned and scrutinised, and perhaps translated, by the official hierarchy in this jail, lest a word or sentence should offend against His Majesty's Regulations or bring into contempt the King Emperor's representatives even down to the *Naibs* and the apprentices who have been supplied for our behoof and betterment by a benign government? And how did it ultimately emerge from this scrutiny? Was it cut up and censored and sent to you in this truncated form? That at least you must know. Unhappily, I have to remain in the dark and hence may err again. It would be more sensible to enlighten me and point out the offending passages. But who am I to teach sense to the powers that be? I can but continue to behave as of old and write whatever suggests itself to me regardless of the blue pencil or the scissors of the office. And so I proceed. I can certainly propose, even though the disposal may be in the hands of the worthy Superintendent. For a change, I am writing in English. Incidentally, this may suit the Superintendent also and save the trouble of translations etc.

I am sending this letter to you and to Allahabad as I do not know definitely the programme of mother and Kamala. Apparently they are not clear about it themselves. Kamala says they might return to Allahabad about the 25th or early in September with Nan.

So you will be back again in Allahabad in two or three days after your grand tour[2]. It has been a splendid tour. Even Bapu & Shaukat Ali did not equal it in the given time. You must be tired. I do hope you will take some rest. The physical feeling of fatigue passes off soon

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. This was the tour of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee.

enough when work has to be done. It is inaction that oppresses one. Fortunately there is plenty of action for any Indian who chooses to bestir himself. The fray beckons. And I have a feeling that we who are in gaol need certainly not be inactive. During the last three months in gaol I have been active enough and cannot complain of ennui.

Your Committee's tour will long be remembered. It has been a delight to us to follow its wanderings. In the golden days to come when the history of our times and our country comes to be written the present will occupy a glorious chapter. And shall we not think of the good old days? Shall we not remember the great men who showed us the way and filled us with the fire of faith? In the words of Meredith[3] (changing but one word 'Italia' for 'India'):

> We who have seen India in the throes,
> Half risen but to be hurled to the ground, and now,
> Like a ripe field of wheat, where once drove plough,
> All bounteous as she is fair, we think of those
> Who blew the breath of life into her frame.

You must have read in the papers of the plight of Lucknow during the last fortnight. For several days there was continuous rain. Rain & rain from morning to evening and evening to morning till one longed to have a sight of the blue sky and the good old sun. Even that "little tent of blue, that prisoners call the sky" was hidden from us and we crouched about in our barrack, damp and cheerless and full of wet clothes that would not dry. A corner of our barrack collapsed. There was no danger to anyone but it was exciting enough to hear in the night large bits of the roof coming down with a crash. So passed several days. And then the God of rain took pity on us and withdrew his thunderbolt and bade the clouds to hold on to the waters they carried. And as a recompense, he further told the clouds to protect us from the noonday sun and he sent down to us from time to time a gentle breeze which played about with the *neem* trees and made them wave their arms for joy. It has been very pleasant during these few days and I have spent nearly all my time in the open. All day I sit or lie under the *neem* trees spinning or reading or it may be writing. And at night I move out from under the trees so as to have an unrestricted view of the stars and the moon. As I write this letter I am sitting under the

3. The quotation is from *Vittoria*, Ch. 21. Jawaharlal had read it in Trevelyan's *Garibaldi and the Thousand* and written it down in his prison note books. See ante, No. 14.

starry canopy. An hour ago it was almost a cloudless night — a beautiful sight and doubly welcome after so many days and nights of mist and cloud. Now the clouds have crept up and try in vain to hide the stars which peep through them and twinkle away for all they are worth.

I should like your advice regarding my treatment. I am in doubt as to what I should do. In my last letter I wrote in detail as to what steps I had taken till then. I attach a note to this letter in continuation of that account. I was weighed a week ago. My weight then was 114 lbs. This is just a pound less than my weight a month before — early in January. The difference is trifling and may be due to many causes, including a wrong reading of the weighing machine. It simply means that my weight is more or less stationary.

I have received many additional books from Allahabad since I wrote last. Shiva Prasad has also sent some of the Hindi books I wanted. I give separately lists of books I have received for convenience of checking etc. Kindly have my thanks and love conveyed to Shiva Prasad Gupta. I cannot write to him separately. Shiva Prasad has also sent a number of books to Devadas. They include some very heavy volumes on sociology. No one knows why they were sent to Devadas. I doubt if anyone here can wade through all of them.

Devadas's & my books combined make a brave show. In fact we have a very wilderness of books now, enough to last us for many months to come. I do a fair amount of reading daily although much of my time is taken up with spinning & Urdu. I am not making as much progress in Urdu as I would wish, chiefly because I have been somewhat irregular. Joseph, by the way, is learning Urdu with tremendous energy and he has done very well so far.

I received a copy each of the *Nation* and the *New Statesman* some days ago. They bore marks in blue pencil and a marginal note. From the context I gather that these were made for our behoof by the Superintendent. His interest is touching. He is evidently bent on improving our minds and, like the missionary, would save us from the wrath to come, in spite of ourselves.

I do not want the *Nation* or the *New Statesman* to be sent to me if thereby Upson is deprived of them. Kindly see that he gets them. They can be sent to me afterwards if this can be easily arranged. If there is any difficulty, please do not bother. They are really of little use to me here. I should certainly like to see them as they bring a breath of the wide world to us and, what is even more soothing, some articles in good English. Our daily literature here is confined to *The Leader* and *The Englishman*. The latter seldom has any article worth reading, unless it be Bepin Babu's, and even that is becoming very tiresome. *The Leader* is more ambitious and writes on current topics.

Its views on politics are a joy to us. They are so childlike, so innocent, so sweetly reasonable. In this hard world it is touching to see such an example of faith. Like Peter Pan it refuses to grow up. All this is very delightful, though at times a trifle monotonous. But the English of *The Leader* does not improve with age and a daily dose of it gets on one's nerves. Any writing on current topics in good English is thus very welcome. It is for this reason that I would like the *Nation* and the *New Statesman*.

Sometime ago I wrote to you about the *Modern Review*. It has not come yet. Kindly have it sent.

I have received parcels of bananas, apples, and cabbages from Bombay. They were in good condition. Shamji Mushran also sent me a parcel of pears and apples from the Olympian heights. Another parcel of apples came from the Somerford orchards, Ramgarh.

More than two months ago I wrote to Kamala and asked her to send an order for the Cambridge History of India to a bookseller in Cambridge. I should like to know if this was done. Was any answer received? This book was ordered by me originally in 1914 before the war. The war delayed it. It is now being issued and the old subscribers are getting it at a much reduced price. Hence the necessity to write to Cambridge for it.

Kindly ask Kamala to send me as soon as convenient three *kurtas* and three *dhoties*. Most of my clothes — and specially the *kurtas* — are in pieces. I do not know why they should have succumbed so soon, unless it be the ceaseless washing. The few days' continuous rain brought home the necessity of a somewhat bigger wardrobe to me. The *kurtas* should specially be sent soon. The *dhoties* need not be full pieces. I would prefer them to be made out of two pieces — 4 yards long.

On the 10th of August I had an interview with Masud Ali Nadvi of Azamgarh. He gave me some outside news. I was interviewing him in a shed which has been made in the passage leading to the front gate, when word was brought to me that my time was up. My watch said that only 20 minutes and some seconds (nearly 21 minutes) had elapsed but the office clock decided otherwise. But perhaps I am ungenerous to the office clock. It was not the clock that erred. Anyway, my interview abruptly terminated.

We have had the honour of a visit from the Inspector-General. He came on the 11th. There was a deal of rubbing and scrubbing and soaping and washing, screaming & cursing — in short a tremendous hullaballoo. And the *pakkas* and the *katchas*[4] put on their newly washed

4. Unofficial grading of prisoners. *Pakkas* are those serving sentences and *katchas* those awaiting trial.

clothes and tried to look their smartest; and the high officials and the low officials of the jail put on their uniforms and tried, in vain, to look comfortable in them. And so in the evening at about 5 p.m. the grande finale took place. The great one came and walked across and went. So far as I know he did not speak to any prisoner in our barrack.

There was a ship that went to Spain.
When it got there it came back again.

On the *Raksha Bandhan* day — August 7 — we were allowed to visit each other's barracks. That was the first occasion of my visiting some barracks, at any rate during my second imprisonment. I saw Purushotam Das and many others for the first time also since the day of my re-arrest. On that day elaborate *pujas* & *havans* took place.

On the *Janamashtmi* day — day before yesterday — some special ceremonies took place in our barrack. We also went for a short while to another barrack where most Hindus had congregated.

On the *Janamashtmi* I remembered specially Nan, whose birthday it was. Some pandits say that she was born on the *Naumi*, but I think that it was on the *Ashtmi*. Anyway, it was the 18th August and that is tomorrow. My love to her. I need hardly send her any special wishes. My heart is full of them. It does not wait for the annual birthday. I wish I could write to her, but that cannot be. The other day I came across an interesting passage. An Italian, Leopardi, wrote to his sister on her marriage, just a century ago in 1821 : "Thou shalt have children either cowards or unhappy; choose then the unhappy". An unpleasant choice for a mother! But Leopardi was not right, for the seeming unhappy are sometimes doubly blessed and doubly happy. But however that may be, no Indian mother need be forced to make a choice for the future now. The future is bright with promise and the coming generation is secure.

Kamala writes to me that she is not wholly free from pain yet. I do hope that this is merely an after-effect of the operation and that it will pass off soon, and not return.

In my last letter sent to Kamala there was much meant for you. Kamala naturally could not deal with it or answer it. I hope that you have received the letter.

Please let me know in good time when mother and Kamala propose to see me. The information may be sent to Kishan Bhai with the

request that he may send word to me. I should like to know some days ahead.

Could you kindly send me a small balance in which we could weigh our yarn? We can then calculate the count of our yarn and find out the progress we are making. The balance should be fairly accurate and should weigh upto about 5 *tolas*. Weights in *tolas & mashas* (oz are no good) should also be sent. Please do not send any expensive article. Could you also kindly let me know the exact equivalent of a rupee in *tolas?* There is some controversy here on the point.

I have had absolutely no news of Shridhar since I came to jail. How is he and where is he? Birju Bhai, I suppose, is still in the north — either at Dalhousie or Lahore.

It is late now — I have run into the 18th — and I must desist. Tomorrow morning I shall add the note on my treatment and then send this letter to the office. May it meet with a better fate than its predecessor which languished for five days before being posted and was heavily censored.

18/8

I have just finished the note[5] regarding my treatment and I attach it to this letter.

Inspite of all the good things I said about the rain god, he has played us false today. It is cloudy and dismal and drizzling. A little hard honest rain would be preferable.

I was grieved to see in the papers that Mr. C.R Das has developed a beard in jail. This reversion to the old days is to my humble thinking unfortunate. It is bad enough for the Maulanas to insist on beards. I hope Hindu-Muslim unity does not mean that we should also grow beards to match. I hope Mr. Das will have himself shaved. If you see him kindly convey my regards to him.

I hope mother is not worrying about me. I was very pleased to get her note from Bombay. She is bearing up so splendidly and bravely and it does my heart good to think of it. She must have had a busy time in Bombay. Like all mothers she perhaps exaggerates my ailments and so, I am afraid, needlessly alarms herself. I am as well as I have been for many months if not a year or two. The long note I am sending you with this letter is merely meant to give you a detailed idea of my condition to help you in prescribing. It is not sent because my condition is radically worse. Please see that mother does not draw all kinds of unwarranted assumptions from it.

5. Not printed.

Tara Chand[6], who used to be principal of the Kayastha Pathshala, and has recently returned from England after taking his Doc. Phil. degree, has written a thesis on the Influence of Islam on India or some such subject. I presume it has been printed & issued in book form. If so, I should like to have it. Kindly send word to him to send a copy to me direct.

I have finished my allotted say. I have but to send you all my love. That, however, does not wait for a fortnightly letter. It goes to you all every morning and evening and many times a day. Betty must prefer Bombay to returning to Allahabad. Kamala says she is tired of the place and wants to be back. And Indu. Tomorrow it will be three months since I saw her last. She must have grown in height and wisdom since then.

Today is the 18th and I must devote a goodly portion of my time to spinning in memory of the chief, as Shaukat called him.

Your loving son
Jawahar

Enclosures :

1. Note
2. List of books received by me.

I have run short of cotton for spinning. We have tried to arrange with people in Lucknow for a weekly supply but it is not good and besides they are irregular. In any case, I should like to have some special cotton *punis* for my own use. Kindly ask Kamala or Betty to send them soon. Also please ask Kishan Bhai to see to it that a weekly supply of good cotton is sent to us. The last lot was not over-good. We are waiting for the next lot but it has not come yet. This delay upsets our spinning arrangements. I am writing this to you as I have no other means of communication with Kishan Bhai, unless he comes to see me.

Please ask Kamala to mark my names on the clothes she sends me. They get mixed up otherwise. Also they should be well & strongly sewn. The last *kurtas* were not at all well sewn.

Jawahar

6. (B. 1888); Vice-Chancellor Allahabad University, 1947-48; Educational Adviser, Government of India 1948-51; Ambassador in Iran, 1951-56; Member of Parliament, 1957-67. A well-known historian, he later published under the title *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* the thesis referred to above.

17. To Father[1]

District Jail
Lucknow
September 1st, 1922
6 a.m.

My dear Father,

Your letter of the 25th/27th August was delivered to me yesterday. My reply is due today as it is just two weeks since I wrote my last letter on the 18th. I hope this letter will be despatched soon so as to catch you before your departure from Allahabad for Bombay.

It was a pleasure to read your long letter. I was beginning to feel guilty at sending you lengthy epistles every fortnight and taking up much of your over-burdened time. A great deal of what I wrote was not necessary from any utilitarian point of view. I wrote on because I had plenty of time at my disposal and it pleased me to let my fancy run. Also I consoled myself with the thought that perhaps a long letter would not be unwelcome to you.

I received Dr. Ray's[2] directions, the homoeopathic medicines etc. yesterday and from today I hope to begin his course of treatment. I have been fairly well during the last two weeks and have only had very mild attacks which have not troubled me much. I shall keep in mind the three points you mention. I have taken no medicine for the last ten days or more and have also given up the use of the Shivaram oil. I was under the impression that you told me once in the civil barrack here that I might continue to use this oil even during homoeopathic treatment. Hence my mistake.

You must have had a full report from mother and the others about me and my flourishing condition. I hope they have satisfied you about my health and have removed all anxiety. The long note I sent you on the last occasion was sent to you in your capacity as my physician.

I found Kamala, Betty & Indu looking fairly well & healthy but mother was not so. I hope that rest in Allahabad and Hakim Ajmal Khan's medicine will tone her up and free her from her ailments.

I rejoice to learn of your freedom from asthma. I hope the effect of the drenching in Calcutta has passed off and you have no cold or

1. J. N. Correspondence. N.M.M.L.
2. A homoeopath of Calcutta.

cough left. Please try to get some rest after the Bombay meeting of the Inquiry Committee. I can well realise the enormous amount of work that must await you but it must be disregarded for a while. I commend Mr. Das's example to you. And Darjeeling is as good a place as any for you to spend two or three weeks. It will be a change from the hackneyed hill stations of these provinces. But perhaps there will be more rain there.

Our weight has not been taken since I wrote to you last and so I cannot give you any accurate information on the point. I feel, however, that a change, if any, cannot be for the worse.

Books — I have already written to you that I have an abundance of books with me and they will keep me occupied for many weeks. For the present, therefore, you need not trouble to send any except the ones you have specially ordered. Jamnalalji or Jamnadas Gandhi[3] have sent me none and I do not even remember what list I sent to you which you handed over to them. It does not matter. My mind is full of the books I ought to read and it is with great difficulty that I refrain from sending you even longer lists than I have done so far. I wonder often how I shall be able to compress so much reading, spinning, writing etc. as I desire to do before my discharge! Already three and a half months have gone by and I am not so very much wiser than I was before. Certainly the Govt. have failed to reform me or to convince me of the error of my ways. However, one must make the best of a situation which has its drawbacks. We should not criticise or look too closely at the gifts that the Gods send us.

Ever since my return from England I have done little reading and I shudder to think what I was gradually becoming before politics & N.C.O. snatched me away from the doom that befalls many of us. Freedom in many of its aspects is denied us but the freedom and the glory of thought is ours and none can deprive us of it. But the life I led and that so many of us lead, the atmosphere of the law courts, the uninspiring conversation of bar libraries, the continuous contact with the sordid side of human nature — all this and the absence of any organised intellectual life gradually kill this power of free thought. We dare not think or follow up the consequences of our thought. We remain in the ruts and the valleys, incapable almost of looking up towards the mountain tops. And the finer side of life escapes us, we cannot even appreciate art or beauty, for everything that is outside the ruts and the valleys terrifies us. We cling to our physical comfort, and

3. Son of Khushal Chand Gandhi, a cousin of Mahatma Gandhi.

a very second rate, bourgeois comfort at that. We do not even know how to live well or to enjoy ourselves. Few of us have any *joie de vivre* left. And so we live out our lives with little said or little done that beautifies existence for us or for others, or that will be remembered by any one after we are dead and gone. That was the fate reserved for us also till the high gods took us in hand and removed us from the ruts and placed us on the mountain side. We may not reach the top yet awhile but the glory of wider vision is ours. We can see the stars better and sometimes the rays of the morning sun reach us sooner than those in the valleys.

Many years ago Col. Haksar told me that after he had finished his academical course he gave a year or two to reading and thinking and did nothing else during that period. I envied him that year or two. And now that chance has been given to me. Shall I not rejoice?

I have said that I have enough books and do not require any more. And yet I am going to sin again and ask for some more! I should like you to send me Sven Hedin's *Trans Himalaya* and a book on *Western Tibet and the Borderland* (or some such title). Both of these books are or should be in my rooms. I do not know if we have Sven Hedin's *Overland to India*. I have developed a desire to pay a visit, by thought and fancy, if not otherwise, to the glaciers and bleak mountain ranges of our homelands, to breathe the fine crystal-clear air again, to march along the high valleys of Ladakh and see the glaciers creeping upto them, to rouse the snow leopard from his den or meet the lordly brown bear. It will be a pleasant change from the constraints of Barrack No. 4. Besides, Khaliq and I came to an agreement long ago to undertake a long pilgrimage as soon as Swaraj is attained. We have chalked out a beautiful itinerary. We go to Kashmir and Ladakh and then Tibet. We pay a visit to the lovely Manasarovar lake and Mt. Kailasa. And thence we go through the famous cities of Central Asia, to may be Afghanistan and Iran and Arabia, and go to the West. I doubt not that we shall find a warm welcome in Afghanistan. The Raja[4] who is the finance minister — I forget his name — ought to prove a worthy host and I cannot be an utter stranger, thanks to our benign Government, to many others in that remote country. A formal introduction may be lacking but the Government was good enough to make us

4. Diwan Niranjan Das was head of the treasury in Afghanistan in King Amanullah's time. He was one of the King's trusted advisers and a popular figure in Afghanistan. His only daughter, Radha, was famous for her beauty, and many songs were composed in honour of Radho Jan. Niranjan Das was a member of the Afghan delegation at Musscorie and Jawaharlal probably heard of him there.

known to each other by repute more than three years ago, long before N.C.O. swept down upon us. And so I have to get ready for our grand tour lest Swaraj should come suddenly and find us unprepared for it!

Many thanks for the clothes you sent me. I have an abundance of them now. I was at first inclined to return the Andhra *dhoties* as they were too fine. On second thoughts I kept them. They are not as fine as some Andhra stuff. Kripalani used to wear a much finer *dhoti*. The *dhoties* you have sent are just right as regards weight. The length too suits me but there is no superfluous bit left. I have no difficulty in tying them or keeping them on without a belt. If necessary, however, I shall try your advice. I have returned the sari you sent. It was not wanted by us and besides it was of an awkward length.

The fine Andhra yarn you sent has been very much appreciated, specially the yarn in the garland. We have counted the threads and weighed it and calculated the count of the yarn. It was 120. I shall return the garland to you in a few days, probably with Nan. It is worth preserving.

Spinning is going strong in our barrack. We have organised it and put an element of competition in it. In spite of defective and insufficient *charkhas*, our barrack is turning out about 1½ *seer* of yarn weekly. One *charkha* has to be shared by as many as three persons sometimes. One of our companions here has spun fine yarn of 47½ counts. I have succeeded in spinning upto 34 counts. This was the average of a hank which varied from 20 to 50 counts. It will give you some idea of this when I tell you that the Andhra *dhoties* you sent us were made of about 35 count yarn — certainly less than 40 counts. It is not difficult to spin fine yarn provided good cotton is forthcoming. But it takes a terribly long time.

I have received the cotton slivers you sent. I wonder who the lady was who brought them. The slip of paper which I signed and returned mentioned Shrimati Urmila Devi. Was she Mr. Das' sister? If so, how did she manage to come here?

Thanks for the photographs. I do not particularly like your photo. It is very amateurish. The group is good. I am glad Mr. Das has parted with his beard. I am afraid there is little chance of my being photographed. But what does it matter? You have enough likenesses of mine.

Income Tax — I am sorry I cannot be of help to you in preparing these statements. If you have got the annual return from the bank in Calcutta it should not be very difficult to get at the facts. But it is next to impossible to be very accurate in the matter of dividends etc. In past years I used to spend many hours in preparing your state-

ment and yet I had to mention there that it was a rough one and I was unable to improve upon it. I doubt if any one, similarly placed, could do better. I wonder if I can be permitted to help in the drawing up of the statement. If the bank returns can be sent to me together with a list of your investments and other connected papers, I might be able to do something. But the difficulty is that all the books and papers will not come here and I shall not have sufficient material. But even so I shall be able to give some help. If you think it necessary you might send the papers here through the Superintendent. He may allow them. You will probably find last year's statements in some drawer of my room upstairs. Personally I do not very much care if I am assessed on last year's figures. That will not make any difference in my case. I do not think it will affect very much your assessment either — but I may be mistaken about that as the year before includes a short period when you practised.

I was very much interested in what you wrote about the old connection between Hakimji's family and ours. I should like to read Bhaijanji's[5] note on our family history. If it is not too much trouble kindly have it copied and sent.

Dijon, where Ratan[6] was spending his vacation, is a big town in the heart of France. I believe it is on the main line between Marseilles and Paris. Just after Lyon. You must have passed it many times. I hope Mohan Bhai will keep himself better informed of Ratan's whereabouts. An atlas will help him.

I am very pleased to learn about the Bara compromise[7]. My congratulations to all the parties concerned. This will probably mean an additional burden for you, but undoubtedly, as you put it, it is a splendid piece of work.

I heard about B. Badri Narain's success[8] in the Privy Council during my trial in Knox's Court[9]. I was delighted. I have still faint traces of the lawyer left in me and I should like to see how far the Privy Council has adopted your argument. The Lakhna[10] special leave is

5. Bansi Dhar Nehru, eldest brother of Motilal Nehru.
6. Ratan Kumar Nehru (b. 1902); son of Mohan Lal Nehru, joined the I.C.S. 1925; Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs, 1960-63.
7. A compromise effected by Motilal Nehru between the claimants to the estate of the Raja of Bara. However, the compromise was short-lived, and the claimants in 1922 again resorted to the courts.
8. This related to the Mehal Tajpur estate in Oudh. Badri Narain was successful in the Privy Council after having lost the case in the Indian courts.
9. The trial in May 1922.
10. This case, concerning the succession to the Lakhna estate in Etawah district, engaged Motilal Nehru's attention for over thirty years from 1894.

indeed a surprise. But even the "profound body", as you put it, can hardly go beyond this. There is nothing in the case. And perhaps it is better for Betiji[11] that the question will be settled by the Privy Council rather than it should be left to the tender mercies of a future bench of the High Court when Narsingh Rao[12] presents a new application, as the Chief Justice recommended to him. I am afraid there will be no peace for you till you go to England for the case. The Beti Sahiba's men will surround you and not leave you till you agree. I presume the case cannot come off for a year or two.

The decision in Venkatram's case is a surprise and yet it should not be so. An opportunity of this kind does not often come and probably the bright specimen, who presides over the Allahabad Sub-Judge's court, had the advantage of his superior's advice in the matter. He would not have dared otherwise. However, it is a small matter and only shows the miserable condition of our judiciary. I think an appeal should be preferred. The matter should be considered purely from the legal and business aspect of the question. It is likely that the District Judge will support his subordinate but that does not matter. I do not think it will be right to leave the matter, without appealing, from the point of view of the company.

I was very sorry to learn of Shridhar's ill-health from your letter. I should have liked to see him when I was out but I had no chance. If he happens to come to Lucknow & if there is no objection to a civilian paying me a visit in jail, I shall be very happy to see him. Meanwhile, I hope you will send my love to him.

Please tell Tara Chand not to send his thesis in manuscript or type to me. I only want it if and when it is printed. A manuscript essay will probably be stopped by the authorities who will smell sedition in it.

Kamala wanted to know what to pay Chatterji who comes to coach her & Beti. I think Rs. 45/- a month should be paid to him. He used to get Rs. 25/- when he came for an hour or more for Beti. Now he comes for two hours and takes two pupils. He should not feel dissatisfied with what he is given. I suggested Rs. 40/- at first but he did not think this enough. Hence my new suggestion of Rs. 45/-.

Thanks for the balance and weights etc. They are very useful. The balance is rather delicate and I am afraid of its breaking. I should have preferred a more solid article.

Cambray's estimate of the value of your law library is under the mark, but it is not ridiculously so. I think the library should be worth

11. The daughter of Motilal Nehru's client.
12. The opposite party.

nearly 50,000/- but many of the text books lose all their value when new editions come out. I think Rs. 40,000/- would not be an unfair price taking everything into consideration. However, Mohan Bhai & Baldeoramji[13] will be better judges of this. I do feel that the library can not be properly looked after and will deteriorate rapidly. Therefore I want it to go even at a smaller price than it is worth. You may, if you prefer only part for the present with some books which are utterly useless, e.g. the American reports etc. That will lighten the burden on the book shelves. Norton's[14] sale to Nabha[15] is of course no fit comparison. The Nabhas and their like do not require appraisers or valuers.

I have been receiving apples from Ramgarh regularly. I think I have had four parcels so far.

I am looking forward to seeing Nan on Monday next. The quotation I sent you from Leopardi was hardly meant as a message to her. I do not suppose that even Leopardi meant it to be taken in its wider sense. I agree with you, as indeed I said in my last letter, that the choice put forward is not a correct one, unless by unhappiness is meant some slight physical discomfort.

Your account of the trip on the Brahmaputra makes one wish to go there. I do wish you would take the whole family there during the coming winter. My absence should make no difference. It seems to me that I am getting far too much sympathy from others and I do not deserve it. It is those who work and labour outside who deserve sympathy, not we who laze and eat and sleep. Soon the pleasant autumn days will come and it will be delightful to lie under the trees. And what can be pleasanter than freedom from worry? We have no appointments to keep, no piling up of work with which we cannot cope, no speechifying, no hurry. Time almost ceases to have significance and life moves on like a gently flowing river. We might, with a stretch of imagination, think ourselves in the South Sea islands or in Tennyson's island in the Western Sea where it is always afternoon and the lotus eaters dwell. Barrack No. 4 is not such a bad place as outsiders imagine.

Kishan Bhai evidently made a mistake when he told you that 100/- have to be given to the T.S.F.[16] I only mentioned 40/- to him. But

13. Pandit Baldev Ram Dave (1863-1942); Secretary of the Allahabad Advocates Association.
14. Eardley Norton, a leading British barrister in India.
15. The Maharaja of Nabha.
16. Tilak Swaraj Fund.

please make it 50/- now. I do not require any money. I have just cashed a cheque for Rs. 50/-.

Devadas and our other friends are well. If you happen to go for some rest to the hills, may I suggest a book for holiday reading? It is Havell's *Aryan Rule in India.* It is an excellent book and I think you will like it. I have a copy here but I cannot return it as many wish to read it. So please get another copy for yourself.

I enclose a small note on how to calculate the count of yarn. I promised Kamala and Beti to send this during our last interview.

I have returned a number of books with Abul Hasan, who, I was told, brought the homoeopathic medicines etc. yesterday.

Dr. Ray's directions are in places rather vague. He says that I am to take Collinsonia 30 "for some time". What is this "some time"? I have taken a dose this morning and I propose taking a dose every morning for a week unless circumstances necessitate my taking any of the other medicines indicated by him.

Please do not imagine that I am not taking enough rest or sleep. I have more than 7 hours sleep and I also take quite enough rest.

We have not yet received the *charkha* or the carding machine from Sabarmati. Kindly have a reminder sent if this has not already gone.

I am in no great hurry for the travel books I have mentioned above. You can send them whenever any one comes this way. Please also include a copy of the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khaiyyam (preferably Golden Treasury edition).

With love,

Your loving son
Jawahar

The length of yarn can be easily ascertained by winding it round a measured length e.g. in the Sabarmati *charkha* there is an arrangement for taking off yarn and making hanks. This is, I believe, 4 ft. long. A similar arrangement can be fixed to any *charkha,* with a smaller length.

I find that Shrimati Urmila Devi came to see Mahadeva. I should like some marking ink for clothes.

How to calculate the count of cotton yarn
One *tola* cotton stretched to 21 yards is
1 count yarn

$$\therefore \text{Count} = \frac{\text{length of yarn in yards}}{\text{weight of yarn in } tolas \times 21}$$

Hanks should be so twisted as to keep the yarn fairly tight and not loose.

(I do not know if in the above calculation a *tola* is taken to be a Bombay *tola* or a northern India *tola.*)

Jawaharlal Nehru
1.9.22

18. To Father[1]

District Jail,
Lucknow
30/9/22
(*Vijaya Dashmi*)

My dear Father,

My home letter is over due. It is usually delivered to me on Thursdays but today is Saturday and it has not come yet. I hope it will reach me some time today. In anticipation of this I am beginning this letter so as not to delay my answer.

I was very pleased to see Beti looking well though much thinner than before. The somewhat cryptic news of her ill-health contained in the *Leader* had caused me considerable anxiety and I had no means of satisfying myself about her health. An interview with Kishan Bhai on the 18th September brought some relief but again a telegram in the *Leader* announcing your sudden return from Amritsar gave rise to apprehensions. Last Monday's interview with her was thus an especial pleasure.

Kamala's little relapses are not very comforting. I only hope that they are trivial and are merely the last spasms of a passing trouble.

Mother's account of your incessant work is anything but reassuring from the point of view of your health. How can I induce you to leave everything for a while and take an absolute rest? Even a fortnight will do you a great deal of good.

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
Certain portions of this letter, indicated by crosses, were censored by the jail authorities.

As for myself, I flourish as usual — in fact better than usual as I have gained 2 lbs. in weight during the last three weeks. I attach a note to this which will give you more detailed information on the subject.

Many thanks for the various books and articles which have been sent to us. We have received 5 *seers* of cotton and the *asans*, spirit lamp etc. which Harkaran Nath[2] brought over. The *charkhas* from Sabarmati have also come. I feel ashamed to trouble you again with requests for articles. But I know you will forgive me. Among the books I asked for I have not received Omar Khayyam (any number of copies of which can surely be found in Anand Bhawan), *A Humorous Anthology of English Verse* (also in my room), Chardenal's *First Book of French* (used to be in Anand Bhawan and in any case easily obtainable in Allahabad) and a French Grammar for a friend. There is one other book for which I wrote you many months ago — *The Koran in Everyman's Library*. I have a copy of the Koran with me but it is too sumptuous an edition for close study. Hence I want Everyman's edition which I can mark and underline as much as I like.

I find that many of the books that are sent to me from our library are partly moth-eaten or at any rate have been attacked by various insects. Apparently they require a thorough cleansing and airing. I have a recollection that, apart from the books in my rooms upstairs, book cases full of books (non-legal) are lying about in at least five or six different parts of the house. This is not a very happy way of keeping books. I would suggest that all of them should be put together in any one room. This will facilitate reference. At present there appears to be considerable difficulty in finding a book.

I wonder if any communication has been received from Bowes & Bowes, booksellers of Cambridge, about the Cambridge History of India. Kamala told me that she had written to them several months ago. If no letter has been received from them a reminder might be sent. I am in no hurry for the book but I should like a copy to be procured soon at the original subscriber's rates.

The cotton that Harkaran Nath has brought is in the form of slivers. It is hardly necessary to take the trouble to make these slivers. We would prefer it in the original condition. Making it into slivers increases the price and that is not desirable, specially as we can ourselves easily make the slivers. The cotton sent is [of] fairly good quality but it is not at all clean. Any number of foreign articles are mixed up with

2. Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra (1890-1968); a prominent Congressman of Lucknow and a leading member of the Awadh Bar.

it. If the time and energy spent in making slivers had been spent in cleaning, the result would have been more appreciated. We have not been informed of the price of the yarn. This ignorance affects our arrangements here. Kindly ask Harkaran to be more careful about these matters in sending future consignments.

So far as I am personally concerned I have got enough slivers to last me till December. But this does not apply to others and the fortnightly supply of cotton should be kept up for them. I do not want Kamala or any one else in the house to bother about these consignments. Harkaran or Bajpaiji[3] should arrange. I am writing to you about them as I can write no other letters.

I sent the yarn I had spun with mother last Monday. I hope it will be carefully preserved. There is not much of it so far but it took me a considerable time to spin, chiefly because I tried to spin fine yarn. Spinning coarse yarn doesn't interest me at all. I could have spun nearly three times as much if I had spun coarser yarn. I am sending you with this letter a short slip giving details about the yarn sent. Kindly hand it over to Kamala who will preserve it with the yarn. When there is enough yarn — mine or any one's in Anand Bhawan — a *julaha* should be got at and made to fix up his pit-loom in our grounds. This is no easy matter. Kishan Prasad Dar[4] will probably be able to get a suitable man.

Kamala's letter of the 28th has been delivered to me now. I had been looking forward to seeing her next Monday but I find from her letter that probably she will not come. The reason given for this is somewhat surprising. She is under the impression that I do not want to have an interview with her or any one else so soon. There has evidently been some misapprehension. An interview with any one from home can never be anything but most pleasing to me and about Monday next I thought that everything had been arranged. However, it does not matter. X X X X

Kamala's reference [to] her health is not reassuring. Evidently the operation does not seem to have put an end to her troubles. I am worried a little but that does not help matters much. It is comforting to know that Colonel Bhola Nath is treating her.

I am glad you intend taking a few days off after the Delhi meeting. It is high time you took rest.

3. Pandit Bishambar Nath Bajpai, Secretary of the U.P.C.C. 1922.
4. (B. 1893); brother-in-law of Mohanlal Nehru; Manager of Allahabad Law Journal Press which printed some of Jawaharlal's books.

I am sorry to hear of Ranjit's mother's death. It must have been a shock to Ranjit. The old lady was advanced in years and her passing away cannot be surprising but suddenness always has a tragic element about it. X X X X

Kamala wishes to appear at some examinations of the Prayag Mahila Vidya Pitha.[5] She wants to ask your permission but apparently she has not been able to muster enough courage for the purpose. I see no harm in her appearing. In fact I think they will do her good. She will give you particulars.

It is pleasant here now. There is no rain and the nights are slightly chilly. I have plenty of covering but Devadas is short of it. Kindly have three blankets sent to us. Please tell Kamala that the pillow she has sent me suits me and I require no other.

I am glad you have bought a Willys Knight. The want of a suitable conveyance was a great nuisance. How does the Ford run now? Is it impossible to get rid of the Lancia?

Kamala writes to say that Indu is becoming more and more intractable and pays no heed to any kind of study. I wish some arrangement could be made for her lessons. I am confident I could have managed her easily — but I am in barrack No. 4. So some other arrangement must be thought of. I do not suppose that she will acquire much knowledge just yet but she must begin to acquire the habit of doing lessons. The longer this is delayed the more difficult it will be for her and for others. As it is she is past the age when she should have begun seriously.

Have you heard anything about my fine? Have the various beds etc. which the police carried off been sold?

Kindly tell mother that I have received the Lucknow sweets and the *Nauratan chutney*. The latter, however, was most difficult for me to tackle owing to the presence of garlic. The *chutney* mother brought with her was excellent.

Two of our friends have been recently discharged from this jail. Daya Krishna Ganjoo of Fyzabad went this morning and Mir Wajid Ali of Rae Bareli was released a day or two ago.

I have been receiving two copies of the *Modern Review* — one from Calcutta direct and the other forwarded from Allahabad. Please have

5. The Prayag Mahila Vidyapitha was founded in February 1922 to promote women's education in northern and central India. Jawaharlal was its Chancellor from 1923 to 1928.

the Allahabad copy stopped. I do not want it and there must be many persons there who would like to read it.

Oct. 1 7 a.m.

I wrote till late last night and I have little to add. I hope all are well at home. There seems to me almost an epidemic of the fevers during this season. My love to mother. I appreciated her note very much. She must not worry about me. During her last visit I made her confess that I was looking better. Love to Nan.

I hope my next home letter will bring the news that you are in the hills.

With love,

Your loving son
Jawahar

Kindly ask Kamala to send me Ram Naresh Tripathi's *Kavita Kaumudi* and *Pathik*.

19. To Father[1]

Civil Ward,
District Jail,
Lucknow
17th October, 1922

My dear Father,

Your letter of the 11th was delivered to me yesterday after a detention of several days in the office. Unlike my last letter to you, it arrived whole and unmutilated. I saw Kamala yesterday morning and she gave me later news which was somewhat more reassuring. Indu's illness has caused me considerable anxiety. I do hope however that she is out of the wood and will rapidly gain strength and not permit any illness to approach her again. She has had more than her share of physical suffering already. She must be so reduced and thin.

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

I am interested to learn of the fate of my last letter to you. I had written it in all innocence without any desire to offend against any jail rules or to divulge any of the secrets of this little world of the condemned and their watchers. I considered myself entitled to write what I had written and expected it to be passed by the censor. The Superintendent, however, was of a different opinion, and, needless to say, the Noes had it. It matters little.

You will notice from the address given above that I am no longer in barrack 4. After over three and a half months in that delectable place we have left it and been installed in another part of the dominions of the Superintendent of the Lucknow District Jail. We have come back to the Civil Ward — the ward where I came more than ten months ago in the old, old days when I was a mere casual. In this barrack I spent my first night in jail and in this barrack you were first installed on your arrival in Lucknow last December. In summer, I believe, it was converted into an isolation ward for cholera patients. Perhaps it continues to serve a similar purpose, only the disease it tries to combat is of the mind more than of the body. And it was in the fitness of things that a habitual victim of the fell disease should undergo treatment in this ward. We were four originally here. Now we are seven : Purushottam Das, Mahadeva, Devadas, Venkat Ram and two others. We miss our volleyball here as seven are hardly enough to form one side for the game, and there is not over-much room here either. Another loss to me is the discontinuation of Urdu lessons. All the seven of us put together possess a negligible knowledge of Urdu. We have more peace and quiet here of course than it is possible to have in the *chakkar*. I hope it will bear fruit in profitable study.

I have given up running owing to lack of a proper place. Instead, I have taken to a strenuous course of Muller[1] in the morning. In the evening we are allowed to pull out water from the well in the adjoining barrack, and this is good exercise. There is thus no lack of exercise. On the whole, perhaps, I am exercising myself more here than I did in the other barracks. We have been told by the Superintendent that he intends opening a door through the wall between this barrack and the barrack where the *chiria khana* is situated, to enable us to take exercise etc. there. We await this. Meanwhile we have to be content with a glimpse of the top of the building which sheltered you for five months or so — the WEAVING shed with the inverted N. Perhaps we may have a full view of it one of these days. But I should not complain of our barrack. It has its good points and they are many. It

1. Breathing exercises developed by a German physician, Johannes Muller.

doesn't seem to have recovered however from the rains yet and is very damp.

Thanks for the additional directions for my treatment. I shall endeavour to follow them. I have been fairly well lately but the trouble has been continuously, though slightly, in evidence. I have not been taking any medicine for some days in expectation of fresh directions. This morning I have started the course again. I feel fit and by no means depressed or weak as I used to some weeks ago during an attack. My weight has not been taken again since I wrote last. I presume I have not lost any thing. Probably I have gained.

I am glad you have disposed of the tremendous amount of useless furniture and lumber that had accumulated during the past twenty years or so. The guns and rifles and revolvers too are well rid of. They were never used and no one looked after them. The Dresden china and Bohemian glass is very valuable stuff and I imagine it is almost unobtainable at present. Central Europe is not in a very prosperous condition at present and I doubt if these dainties are being manufactured there as of old. Bohemia and Carlsbad are, I believe, now part of the Czechoslovakian state — it is difficult to remember the names of these mushroom states. Saxony, in common with the rest of Germany, is in a bad way. I have little idea of the original price of the sets you possess although I was with you when you purchased them. Perhaps it would be as well to have them valued in Bombay. An advertisement in the Calcutta and Bombay papers might be worthwhile.

I feel that it will not be very desirable for the family to shift to Lucknow for a few months. There is undoubtedly a lack of decent doctors in Allahabad but even from Nan's point of view home comforts count for a great deal. Some suitable arrangements could be made for medical help there.

Some weeks ago I wrote to you that Devadas had received a number of heavy books on sociology from Shivaprasad Gupta. None of us could make out why these particular books were sent to him. It now transpires that Purushottam Das asked for them and they were really meant for him! But I suppose the office bungled and sent them to the wrong person and but for the fact that Purushottam and I are in the same barrack we would never have found out the true fact. As it is, I have already returned some of the books to Shiva Prasad as Devadas or I did not need them.

The other day the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* — Gwynne by name — came here. I had a talk with him. I understand he is a Madras civilian who retired after only a few years service. He mentioned that he had a letter of introduction from Tej Bahadurji for you. So perhaps you will meet him.

We live almost in a charmed world nowadays. Newspapers seldom reach us. Occasionally an odd copy of the *Leader* or *Englishman* or it may be the I.D.T. drops as it were from heaven and tells us something of the outside world. More often we live in blissful ignorance. It is well, and I for one am well content with this. To read and think and worry and yet not to act is not an enviable state of affairs. It is better to live far from the madding crowd absorbed in books and in one's immediate surroundings.

I am interested to learn that my fine has been realised by the sale of the steads. So I have only 13 months left in jail now!

We are all well. This is the shortest letter I have so far sent you. I hope its brevity will help in its quick despatch.

I am writing a few lines for Indu below.[3] I wonder if this is an offence against the rules!

With love to all,

Your loving son
Jawahar

Purshottam and others send their *pranams* to you.

Kindly tell Kamala that I do *not* want any more *takuas*. I want a pair of *chappals*.

Lots of love to dear daughter Indu from her Papu. Get well soon and write to Papu. Also come and see me in jail. I long very much to see you. Did you ply the new *charkha* that Dadu has given you? Send me some of the yarn you have woven. Do you say your prayers every day with your Mummie?

Yours
Papu

3. The lines to his daughter were in Hindi.

20. To Father[1]

Civil Ward
District Jail, Lucknow
November 15, 1922

My dear Father,

It was a pleasure to have a letter from you after so many weeks. It is short but nonetheless comforting. I realise that I cannot expect long letters from you so long as I remain in my present delectable surroundings. And indeed I would feel guilty of taking up too much of your precious time if you wrote me a long letter. That time belongs to a vast number of others besides, and even more than me, and I have no doubt that it can be much more usefully employed than in writing lengthy letters to me. I would that I was in a position to assist you & to lighten, even by a little, the heavy burden you carry. That is denied to me for the present. At any rate I do not wish to add to your worries and burdens.

The new rules are being enforced from today. I wonder who is the genius responsible for them. Evidently they come from on high. But in spite of this, they are sadly lacking in clarity. I suppose, however, that we shall soon get to know them and flourish under them. I have been in doubt as to when to write to you — only this morning I was informed that as over a fortnight has elapsed since I wrote last, and the new rules only come into force today, I am entitled to write a letter today. I hasten to take the opportunity. I am also informed that interviews will be allowed this week as usual to all of us. I understand that Abul Hasan has been told so and that as a consequence of this, mother may come to see me in a day or two.

Henceforth of course interviews & letters will have monthly intervals. Probably definite days will be fixed for them and little choice will be left in the matter. If any such days are fixed, as is likely, you will be informed of them.

The other principal changes in the rules refer to food, newspapers and books. As regards food, there is nothing to worry about and you can rest assured that I shall continue to have enough wholesome food. Newspapers will be stopped. This morning's *Leader* bore the legend in red ink : "The last paper"! For this relief, I am almost thankful. I can well do without the daily papers and devote the time so far spent in reading them to better purpose. A newspaper in jail is certainly not

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

an unalloyed blessing, specially to a person of fairly active habits. It disturbs one's peace of mind and even introduces an element of worry, which should have no place in jail, or else jail would be much worse than the madding crowd outside! Inaction and worry do not make a happy combination and so being forcibly wedded to the former for a year and a half, I have attempted to desert the latter, with no little success. It was the newspaper which repeatedly intervened and interfered with my scheme of life here. It will not be allowed to do so any longer and I am hopefully looking forward to a period of quiet reading and contemplation.

The withdrawal of books was another matter. I suppose we would have got used to that also if necessary. Fortunately, however, we have been spared. All our books remain with us.

So that we are really not affected over-much by the rules as newly framed. The monthly interviews will be more appreciated than the weekly ones. And the months will go by till another November comes round again and then it may be I shall have another interview for which I shall have waited for nearly eighteen months.

I am glad you have taken Kamala and Indu to Calcutta. Indu was looking pale and weak when I saw her last. She looked even more pulled down than she was just prior to her visit to Dehra Dun. I hope that homoeopathic treatment will cure her completely.

I observed my birthday on the 11th in accordance with mother's directions. I did everything that she wished me to do. I have even kept 5/- by for the poor. I shall hand these to her when she comes.

One of our number, Venkat Ram, will be discharged in a few days on completing his term of six months — which reminds me that I also am completing a third of my period. I have seen a good deal of him here and I have been favourably impressed by him. He has ability and good sense and I think he will improve greatly. You may perhaps remember that he and I were tried together.

The homoeopathic medicine case you gave me — the one in 2 volumes — has partly ceased to exist. Of the 1st volume only some tattered remnants remain — the rest has been swallowed by the white ants! They have eaten the leather and the corks and the pillules. The glass is about the only thing they have left. I am fairly careful about the cleanliness of my barrack and specially my little corner in it. Every third or fourth day the whole place is thoroughly cleaned and every article of furniture is removed. As it happened I did not touch the medicine case for 3 days and this morning when I picked it up I found thousands of white ants creeping & crawling inside it. They are a regular plague here. We have been battling valiantly with them but on the whole they have had the advantage over us.

I shall return the remains of the medicine case to mother. Please do not send me another. All the medicine I may require for myself are in a separate wooden box and are in good condition. The two volumes were of no use to me whatever.

One of our diversions here is a study of the heavens every night. We do not know much about them but still we have succeeded in making friends with a number of constellations. Every evening we watch the Pleiades heralding the approach of Orion. And nightly we see the Little Bear go round the Polar Star, and its elder brother the Great Bear informs me every morning of the coming of dawn. They are wonderfully comforting, these stars and constellations. I wish I knew more about them. The *Pioneer* and the *Englishman* usually give a chart of the night sky every month. If you could kindly have these charts taken out of the papers and sent to us, they would be of great help.

Kamala writes to me that she wants to do some Muller's exercises but she does not understand them. I am sure they will do her a lot of good — specially the rubbing ones. Please tell her what she should do and what she should not do.

Mahadeva has got a large supply of *Zaminqand* from Surat and he gives it to me daily. The Surat variety is vastly superior to our local product. It is more tasty and does not produce any irritation. It is cooked in the ordinary way.

I enclose a note[2] about my treatment. My last one I think was dated the 1st October. You will notice that I am fairly fit. Indeed I wish I could convince you how well I am here and how pleasantly my days pass. Selfishness would hardly favour a quick discharge but I do feel sorrow when I think of you labouring away and I, basking in the sun, wrapped up in my reading and spinning.

Many of our friends must be in Calcutta. Kindly give my regards to Hakim Saheb & Mr. Das and my love to Mrs. Naidu, Ansari, Rajagopalachari[3], Syed Mahmud, Santanam[4] and specially to Umar Sobhani.

2. Not printed.
3. (B. 1878); gave up legal practice at Salem and joined the noncooperation movement in 1919; member of the Congress Working Committee 1922-42, 1946-47 and 1951-54; Chief Minister of Madras 1937-39 and 1952-54; Governor of West Bengal 1947-48; Governor-General of India 1948-50; one of the founders of the Swatantra Party.
4. (B. 1895); lawyer of Madras who joined the noncooperation movement in 1920; arrested with Jawaharlal at Nabha in 1923; Joint Editor, *Hindustan Times* 1943-48; Minister of State for Railways and Transport 1948-52; Lieutenant Governor, Vindhya Pradesh 1952-56.

I am writing a few lines for Indu on the other side of this sheet. I hope she will be able to read them.

With love,

Your loving son,
Jawahar

Thanks for the Rs. 100/- which Nihal Babu sent me. I appear to be spending more money in jail than I did outside!

(In case this letter is opened in Allahabad during father's absence, kindly have it forwarded immediately to him to Calcutta.)

My dear Indu[5],

How do you like Calcutta? Which do you like better — Bombay or Calcutta? Have you seen the zoo there? What kinds of animals are there? There is a very big old tree. See that also. Be sure you are quite fit when you return.

Your loving father
Papu

5. This letter to his daughter is in Hindi.

21. Speech at Allahabad[1]

I do not know what I should say to you. Purshottamdasji has already spoken and on my behalf also. I had joined the noncooperation movement after considerable thought, but once I had joined I had no occasion to give it a second thought. In jail I got an opportunity to

1. Delivered on 1 February 1923, the day after his release. Extracts were printed in *Aaj* of 5 February 1923. Original in Hindi.

think about it again. After considering it again and again, I felt that I had taken the right decision and what I had been doing was equally correct; and if I get an opportunity again I shall do it again.

I am not in touch with the present situation. I only know this, that the objective we had placed before ourselves two years ago is still there. The country is as much in agony today as it was then. Our struggle still continues. The course that we have adopted is the only one which can bring us success. I do not know if you are all prepared to follow that path. May be you have become tired. I do not know. Having just come out of jail, I do not know how far the assertion of the new Governor[2] that the people have now no faith in the noncooperators is correct. But for me the way is clear; and if a large number of people do not follow this course at least a few of us will. For me it is the only way.

Out of your great affection for me, you have praised me too much. This is bad. In future you should shower praise with some restraint.

Everywhere people ask me, where are we? But in jail I had no means of knowing what was happening outside. So what can I say about it? You should follow the way which appears to you right. We are all on the same road; only you may ride on whatever means of transport you like best. If we have noncooperated with Government we should certainly cooperate amongst ourselves. If we fight amongst ourselves then we shall establish that we are unworthy of Swaraj. The struggle that was launched in our country has not ended as yet. The release of seventy prisoners does not imply the end of the battle. Thousands of our brethren are still in jail. This struggle will continue till we hoist the Swaraj flag on the citadel of freedom. I think going to jail is an easy affair. We shall have to sacrifice our lives for freedom.

I have nothing to add about the use of *khaddar*. This time I had been convicted only on this count. I apologise to those to whom I have given trouble in the matter of *khadi*. But I am convinced that what I did was correct and if I get another opportunity I shall do the same again.

2. Sir William Marris; joined I.C.S., 1895.

22. Speech at the Bareilly District Conference[1]

On my release from jail, when I was asked by people to which group I would belong, I felt sad that the leaders should be taking this 'do as they like' attitude. So seventy of us have taken a vow that our first duty would be to bring about unity among the leaders. I am glad to say that thanks to the efforts of Maulana Azad[2] you will very soon find the two groups of leaders working together.

Swaraj can be achieved only by joint action and I want to achieve Swaraj as quickly as possible. We can never progress without Swaraj. But we cannot achieve Swaraj by abusing others. I cannot blame the English for our condition. At heart I have very great respect for them as a brave nation. If I criticise them, it is for their misdeeds. They regard religion as a personal affair, and I have nothing but praise for their discipline. We should not under-rate the bravery of the enemy, but we can achieve success by boldly facing him. We can attain freedom only by being prepared for greater sacrifices than they are. Without unity nothing is possible. Disunity leads to ruin. We shall have to build up an army of freedom fighters. The only way to attain freedom is the way shown by Mahatma Gandhi. I would seek freedom by all means; but at this time there is no other method better than the one laid down by Mahatmaji. Freedom from slavery is only possible by obeying the commands of Mahatma Gandhi.

People say noncooperation has declined. The truth is very different. It is true that noncooperation does not appear to be as intensive as before; but apart from that, real work is going on.

The incidents at Bareilly[3] last year took place because of your lapses. You had not followed the real implications of the teachings of Mahatma

1. 18 February 1923. Extract printed in *Aaj*, 24 February 1923. Original in Hindi.
2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958); a scholar and writer of outstanding distinction and a patriot who served long terms of imprisonment; President of the Congress 1923 and 1940-46; Minister for Education in the Government of India, 1947-58.
3. On 5 February 1922 the dispersal of a Congress procession and seizure of flags led to mob violence. The police opened fire and arrested several Congress leaders.

Gandhi and the Ali brothers. You forgot their instructions even at the time of taking out a flag procession. The incident was a punishment for your lapses. We can achieve freedom only by hard work and not by discussions. Those who want to achieve freedom by entering the legislatures cannot assure us of success, because battles cannot be won by debates. There is no instance in world history where people have attained victory by only sitting in a debating assembly. The councils of today are no more than debating assemblies.

Today is that auspicious day when eleven months ago Mahatmaji read his written statement in court before he was taken to prison to undergo a sentence of six years. I was present then. That scene is imprinted on my heart and I can never forget it. His farewell instructions — "*Khaddar, Khaddar, Khaddar*" — are still echoing in my ears. I pray to God to give me such strength as will enable me to continue as a fighter for freedom. If you are eager for freedom and work persistently then nothing is impossible. India will be able to achieve freedom if we all work unitedly.

23. To Shamlal Nehru[1]

Allahabad
2.3.23

Dear Sir,

The requisition for a meeting of the general body of the Town Congress Committee signed by you and a number of members of the Committee reached me about midday on the 27th February. I have since given the most careful attention to the matter and have consulted a number of members of the Committee whose opinion carries weight. Your requisition raised a number of questions of constitutional and practical importance and I did not wish to decide any of these in a hurry and without the fullest consideration. The meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the presence in Allahabad of a large number of leaders from other parts of the country were also instrumental in my not answering you earlier. I crave your pardon for the delay.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

In your requisition you desire that a meeting of the full Committee should be held on the 2nd March. It has been pointed out to me that no such meeting should be held without at least a week's clear notice. Our members are spread out all over the city and it is difficult to reach them suddenly. The rules of the Provincial Congress Committee have made careful provision for the giving of sufficient notice. The objection thus of shortness of notice was a very strong one. Another objection was based on the undesirability of holding any meeting during Holi festivities. This too had considerable force.

The Town Committee has no special set of rules to meet a situation of the kind that has arisen. No rule relates to meetings being requisitioned. It is by no means clear what the procedure should be or what the powers of the Executive and the general body are. These and many other questions arise and I mention them only to point out some of the difficulties raised by your requisition at this juncture. Such questions should only be considered and decided at a meeting of the general body which has been convened after the fullest notice to which no one can take exception. No meeting which is held within the next few days can be said to have been held after full notice. I would therefore ordinarily have been averse to holding such a meeting. But I understand that according to you and your co-signatories the meeting must be held prior to the 5th March or else there will be little point in it. I desire to give every facility to the signatories of the requisition and have decided to accede to their request in spite of the objections that have been raised. I have therefore convened a meeting of the general body of the members for the 4th March 1923 at 5.30 p.m. The place of meeting is the office of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, 107 Hewett Road.

I have also called a meeting of the Executive Council of the Town Committee for this evening at 6 p.m. at the office of the District Congress Committee in Hewett Road to consider the situation that has arisen by the sending of the requisition. I trust you will attend this meeting.

Kindly let me know what you propose to do at the meeting of the general body. I should like to have a copy of the resolution or resolutions you or any fellow signatory of yours intends to propose at the meeting. So far all the information that you have given me is that election affairs will be considered. This is not enough. A requisition for a meeting must state in some detail the purpose of the meeting and the exact business to be brought forward. In order to save time I

have already convened the meeting without waiting for this information. I trust however that this information will be forthcoming by tomorrow.

I would add that the meeting of the general body has been convened without my having finally decided any constitutional question. Such questions, if any, will be dealt with at the meeting itself.

Yours truly,
Jawaharlal Nehru
President, Town Congress Committee
Allahabad

24. On the Shuddhi Movement[1]

I

Sir, — Nearly six weeks ago I delivered a speech in Gorakhpur. No report of it, so far as I am aware, appeared for a month or more after. My attention has now been drawn to strange and perverted versions of it appearing in various Hindi and Urdu newspapers. I have endeavoured to contradict some of these but I cannot keep pace with the misrepresentation. May I, therefore, request you to allow me some space to repudiate the various statements made in regard to this speech?

I am alleged to have attacked in most unseemly language every one connected with the Shuddhi movement at present going on amongst the Malkana Rajputs[2] and to have called every such person an enemy of his country. Various other extraordinary statements are put in my mouth which I never uttered. All these are wholly wrong. I said little about the Malkana Rajputs. I spoke at some length on unity and laid stress on the impossibility of our making much progress if we were always quarrelling with each other. I stated that it was in the

1. The first part of this item is Jawaharlal's letter to the editor, *The Leader*, 13 May 1923; the second part is a translation from a report in *Aaj* of the same date.
The aim of the Shuddhi movement was to reconvert those who had left the Hindu fold. The Arya Samaj leaders lent their support to this movement. The Congress, as a political organisation, with persons of various religions as its members, avoided a partisan approach to the problem.
2. A sect of Rajputs converted to Islam; they retained many Hindu customs.

interest of our opponents to create friction between various communities and we must not be misled by these intrigues of theirs. Any person who deliberately created disunion in the country was helping our opponents and was injuring the national cause. I stated all this without any reference to or thought of the Malkanas.

I then referred briefly to the Shuddhi question. I prefaced my remarks by saying that I did not know the exact facts and so I could only deal with the matter generally and without going into any detail. One thing, I said, was very clear. Every person had the indefensible right to convert by peaceful means another to his views or to his religion. We must allow perfect freedom in the matter. Any man who is in earnest and believes in a cause wants others to adopt his view and help his cause. I believe in the true missionary spirit and in men with a mission. I myself am a bit of a missionary in my own way. Then I stated that I could not help noticing that the Shuddhi movement had aroused keen controversy and our national workers were distracted on account of it. I expressed a desire that it would have been better for this question not to have been taken up then. I had been asked what Congress workers should do in the matter. It was of course open to every Hindu and every Muslim to act according to his convictions, but it was clear that the Congress could not take any part on either side. The Congress was meant for every Indian and as such it could not identify itself with a controversial religious matter. I recommended that the principal workers and office-bearers of Congress Committees should not take an active part in the movement as otherwise people would be justified in thinking that the Congress was helping behind the scenes. Besides, I thought that any one, Hindu or Muslim, taking an active part in the Shuddhi movement on either side, could not remain a very effective national worker. He would have little time to spare for national activities and he would be suspected by the other community. I do feel that those gentlemen, both Hindus and Muslims, who have actively worked amongst the Malkanas have lessened their utility from a national point of view.

Personally I would rejoice if all the outsiders left the Malkanas in peace for a while and permitted them to work along their own lines.

Jawaharlal Nehru

II

Jawaharlal Nehru has written a letter to Swami Shraddhanand[3]. In that letter he has said: "My speech at Gorakhpur was published in the newspapers in a completely distorted form. I had said that those who work for 'Shuddhi' have every right to do so. Only it pains me that it unnecessarily promotes ill-will and this hampers our work for Swaraj. I have also given my personal views that I would like the Congress officials not to take much interest in the propagation of the 'Shuddhi' movement. I believe that if prominent workers of the Congress take part in 'Shuddhi', people might think that it is a part of the Congress programme. In this manner the Congress would become an institution of a particular caste or religion. So if presidents and secretaries of Congress committees wish to work for 'Shuddhi', it would be better if they resigned from their official positions. This is my opinion about those who work for 'Shuddhi' as well as those who work against it. I never said that workers for 'Shuddhi' are traitors to the country or that they should be treated as enemies. I had used these words in another context which had nothing to do with 'Shuddhi'. Some listeners might have mixed up the two statements".

3. (1860-1926); originally known as Lala Munshiram, he was one of the leaders of the Arya Samaj, but no bigot, and preached on one occasion in the Jama Masjid in Delhi. He also participated in the Satyagraha movement of 1919. He was assassinated in Delhi on 23 December 1926 by a Muslim fanatic.

25. To A. M. Khwaja[1]

107, Hewett Road,
Allahabad
6.6.23

My dear Khwaja,

So you have issued your ultimatum. I feared as much and I therefore wanted to write to you as soon as I came back from Bombay. But an abundance of work kept me more than occupied for the last 3 or 4 days.

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

I read in the *Leader* that you have resigned from the Secretaryship of the Congress. It is not quite clear whether you have also resigned from the membership of the Working Committee. As a matter of fact you were not elected a Secretary. Your name was proposed for this office but it was withdrawn when it was pointed out that you could not spare the time. Prakasam[2], Mahmud and I were elected Secretaries. You have been elected a member of the Working Committee. The newspapers have evidently given a wrong report and hence you have been misled. The fault is partly mine also for not sending you formal intimation immediately. Owing to the transfer of the office of the All I.C.C. from Patna to Allahabad papers have got mixed up and delay has been caused. Please forgive me.

Why did you not come to Bombay? We all expected you to come and lighten our burden. I wish I could tell you all that happened there but a letter is hardly a fit medium for that. If we could but meet.

The reports that have appeared in the papers are so very inadequate that it is really difficult for a person who was not present to understand what happened at Bombay. The result is so different from what I expected that I can very well understand the difficulties of others who were not present.

There is going to be a meeting of the Working Committee in about a fortnight's time, probably in Allahabad. I do hope you will come. We shall then have a chance of discussing the whole situation. Please do not resign from the Committee. There is no reason why your membership of the Committee should interfere with your educational work. Even from the educational standpoint you should be in the Committee. Education surely must be represented in the Working Committee. But even if you happen to disagree with me in this matter, I would beg of you not to resign or take any other action till you have seen us and discussed the matter fully. We have a tremendous burden to carry. Please do not desert us in this fashion. I am told that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who is also a member of the Working Committee, intends sailing to England within a few days. I do not know what he is going for.

I am developing into a kind of "Pooh-Bah".[3] They forced me to take up the Working Secretaryship of the A.I.C.C. at Bombay. When

2. T. Prakasam (1869-1957); a lawyer and prominent member of the Congress in Andhra, who was a leading figure in the politics of that area from the early twenties till his death. Chief Minister of Madras, 1946-7; Chief Minister of Andhra, 1953-4.

3. A character in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado*, who held many offices.

I say that I am going to resign from the Municipal Chairmanship, there is a howl and I am told that it might almost result in a petty riot. Meanwhile I must carry on the Provincial Congress work and of course I cannot desert the Allahabad Town Congress Committee of which I am president! A pleasant outlook! I am thoroughly distressed and troubled.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. Interview with Aaj[1]

Q. What is your opinion about the Congress compromise?[2]

Jawaharlal Nehru: In my opinion you cannot call it a compromise in full. According to Shrimati Sarojini Naidu this is a reciprocal arrangement for convenience.

Q. Do you think this compromise will bring about the desired effect, that is, the reunion of the two wings of Congress, while persons like Shri Rajagopalachari are opposing it?

JN: As circumstances change the success or failure of this compromise also will be known. Of course I am sorry and sad about the behaviour of Shri Rajagopalachari. I had never thought that he would thus disregard and defy the decision of the All India Congress Committee. I had felt that he would, at the most, express his opposition to the Bombay decision only as a matter of principle, but abide by it in practice. I had never thought he would actively organise strong opposition to it.

1. Published on 19 June 1923. Original in Hindi.
2. The Gaya Congress resolution (December 1922) in favour of a programme of noncooperation was a triumph for the 'No-changers'; so the 'Pro-changers' formed the Swaraj Party. At Bombay in May 1923, the A.I.C.C. decided, as a compromise, that the 'No-changers' should desist from propaganda among the voters.

Q. In your opinion, will not this conduct of Shri Rajagopalachari add to the dissatisfaction in the Swarajya Party and the bad blood between the two wings of the Congress?

JN : Of course, it will increase ill-will and the two parties, instead of coming together, will drift apart all the more. Although the Swarajya Party started this disagreement after the Gaya Congress, it is proper that it should be now ended instead of being intensified.

Q. How far, in your opinion, are the activities of Shri Rajagopalachari's party justified and proper?

JN : How can I say they are proper? I myself seconded the resolution at Bombay for a compromise.

Q. The Congress has not permitted Council entry and Shri Rajagopalachari is organising a special movement against Council entry. Don't you think that in such circumstances the Swarajya Party's success in elections is impossible?

JN : I cannot answer this question. I do not at this time know much about the whole of India. I can only speak about the United Provinces. If the boycott by the Congress had not been postponed even a minor success for the Swarajya Party was not possible. Had Congress allowed Council entry, then success was certain. In view of all this, the success of the Swarajya Party is doubtful. The Congress has quite a considerable influence with the public. This is clear from the municipal elections in the province.

Q. But in the district board elections the Congress has not succeeded; and the district board voters are also the voters for the Council. In such circumstances, how can you say that had Congress permitted Council entry, the Swarajya Party would have definitely succeeded?

JN : We should not draw any conclusions from the failure in district board elections. The fact is that during the district board elections the Congress did not make any private effort. This election was left to look after itself. Had the Congress tried, it would have succeeded.

Q. I think you are not in favour of contesting the Council elections. Then, what do you think is the best programme for the Congress at the present moment?

JN : I myself am not in favour of entering the Councils but I do not want to prevent those who want to oppose the Government by

entering the Councils. Nor do I say that the members of the Swarajya Party will not be able to do anything by entering the Councils. I believe, in principle, that to put pressure on the Government one has to sever relations with Government, remain aloof from it and work independently. The Swarajya Party's policy of obstructing and opposing the measures of Government may gain something for us, but nothing substantial or of importance can be gained in this way until the Council members themselves support real work and direct action. This is the difference between my opinions and those of Deshbandhu Das. His direct action and my direct action are very different. He says we are not noncooperating as yet. We are noncooperating with the Government in very minor matters only and this is a preparation for that time when we shall noncooperate with Government in all matters. My opinion about the Congress programme is that it should be fully organised. I believe in firm, fearless, serious and courageous work. Mere enthusiasm is not effective. Enthusiasm is no doubt necessary but one who depends on that alone does not last long. So I want the Congress to be fully and well organised and workers trained and drilled to work regularly. Training and discipline alone can ensure success in the movement. The only way to obtain Swaraj is to paralyse the Government; and this is possible by two methods only — violent armed rebellion or non-violent noncooperation. I am opposed to the first way. The other method is the only solution for the salvation of India. Government too can be paralysed in two forms — mental and practical. Mentally the Government is already considerably crippled. In some practical form we have to paralyse it fully. The most important work for us is to make the masses accept the idea of defiance and disrespect towards the Government's authority and its rules and laws. The people should stop caring for the rules, laws and intentions of the Government and be quite indifferent to its prestige. In addition, there should be a group of sufficient size ready to break the laws when the time comes. We should also have the sympathy of our fellow countrymen who may assist us at the time of need in other ways if not physically. We shall have, after all, to break the law one day or the other; and for that a countrywide sense of disobedience to the Government must be spread.

Q. Do you want to use all the strength which the Congress commands for constructive work?

JN : I want constructive work to be performed in the best possible way; at the same time, as I have stated above, we should spread the idea of disobedience.

Q. In your opinion, can mass civil disobedience be started at the moment?

JN : No, the country at the moment is not prepared for it.

Q. In your opinion, can Nagpur[3] at the moment be made the centre for an all-India Satyagraha struggle?

JN : I definitely want some volunteers from other provinces to be sent to Nagpur — not because Nagpur should get our support, but just as a gesture of sympathy. I never desired that volunteers should be sent to Nagpur because they have not got enough of them there. They should not offer satyagraha with the help of volunteers of other provinces. I want other provinces too to fly the national flag as a point of honour, as Nagpur has done.

Q. Do you think the Nagpur Satyagraha will affect the Government in any way?

JN : It has nothing to do with influencing the Government — this is being done solely for maintaining the honour of the national flag.

Q. Do you think this satyagraha can be continued for long?

JN : I cannot say. Only the leaders of the Central Provinces will be able to say how much strength they have and for how many days they would be able to keep up the struggle.

3. The movement started in Nagpur when the police objected on 1 May 1923 to a procession carrying the national flag since there was a prohibitory order under Sec. 144. The volunteers who insisted on their right to carry the flag were arrested. The Satyagraha movement was authorised by the Congress Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. The authorities eventually gave way.

27. To Mahadeva Desai[1]

August, 1923

My dear Mahadeva,

It is curious that the letters we desire to write most should often get delayed. The casual note, the routine letter is sent off and yet the letter which we are thinking of most remains unwritten. I have thought of you, and of the feeling note you sent me, every day since the 6th or 7th of August when it was delivered to me in Nagpur. The news[2] came to me as I descended from the train at Nagpur station. Ramdas was my informant. My heart went out to you in your sorrow for I knew well how you must be suffering. Some of us who have erred and sinned enough have grown hard in the ways of the world. But you in your innocence must find them more difficult and I can well understand your agony and your mood of self-condemnation.

I have also the good fortune of having experienced to the full the depths of a father's love and many times I have wondered if I was repaying in any way the love and care that had been lavished upon me from the day of my birth. I have had to face that question often and every time I have felt shame at my own record. Sometimes wider issues intervened and I was troubled and torn asunder and knew not what to do. I shall never forget the advice that Bapu gave me in those far off days of the Satyagraha Sabha when the conflict in my mind was almost too great for me to bear. His healing words lessened my difficulties and I had some peace. Do you remember those days in March 1919 when you and I first met at Delhi in Principal Rudra's house? We travelled, Bapu and you and I and the little doctor to Allahabad, and then a day or [two] later you went to Lucknow or perhaps Benares; anyway I accompanied you at B's suggestion to Partabgarh and on our way he and I had our talk. It was the first serious and fairly lengthy talk that I had with him. Four years ago and how terribly long ago it seems!

I did not have the privilege of meeting your father, but you spoke to me about him in our little garden in the Civil Ward. I can well imagine him proud of his son and fully satisfied that all his trouble and labour

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.; first published in *A Bunch of Old Letters*, pp. 27-28.
2. Of the death of Mahadeva's father.

had borne such rich fruit. You distress yourself needlessly. The lesson of service you learnt from your father you have carried to the outer world and have doubtless influenced many by your personal example. Your father could not have grudged this or preferred a narrow domestic sphere for you to the wider service of your country.

I am weary and sick at heart. Nagpur has been a most painful experience for me. I came here with the intention of wandering about in the interior for a while, away from the haunts of man. But I have been unable to do so owing to my father's relapse. Contrary to habit I managed to develop a fever myself but I have now got rid of it.

Jawaharlal

28. The Nagpur Satyagraha[1]

Sir,—In your issue of the 1st September, a report of a part of a speech of mine dealing with Nagpur Satyagraha is given. There are a number of errors in this report and I would beg of you to permit me to correct them. I do not propose to weary you or your readers by dealing with all the petty errors, i.e., the statement that a copy of the notice was 'sent in an envelope' to the police station. I have no idea how the notice was sent, in an envelope or otherwise. I may have stated that perhaps it was sent in an envelope. I am reported to have said that 'when the procession reached the bridge some arrests were made'. To my knowledge no arrests were made there. What I said at the meeting was that the procession reached the bridge where arrests had previously been made. I am also reported to have said that 'the volunteers for the procession were enlisted after being definitely warned that they should be prepared for death'. No special enlistment, so far as I know, took place. Volunteers were carefully chosen after due warning that the police might change their tactics and take to beating them instead of arresting. I hope I did not say anything about being 'prepared for death'. There was no question of death. Perhaps in connection with Guru-ka-Bagh[2] I may have referred to readiness to face death. I then

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Leader*, 6 September 1923.
2. Guru-ka-Bagh, a small Sikh gurdwara about 13 miles from Amritsar, which was the centre of Akali satyagraha and police lathi charges in 1921.

referred to some prisoners who had been released marching through the prohibited area with flags without let or hindrance. There has been no general gaol delivery yet. The last sentence of the report refers to the possibility of an order being endorsed at the back of the printed notice sent to the authorities. I have no knowledge if this was done or if any other course was adopted by the authorities. I merely suggested that if they choose to inscribe such an order I had no quarrel with them and they were welcome to it.

I have no inside or special information of what happened at Nagpur on and about the 18th August. I based my speech on the bulletins issued by the Congress Publicity Department at Nagpur and on conversations with some volunteers who had actually taken part in the procession on the 18th.

Allahabad, September 1 | Jawaharlal Nehru

5

THE NABHA TRIAL

1. Draft statement to be read in Court at Nabha[1]

I do not desire to defend myself in this proceeding, which has been started against me, or in any other proceeding which the present administration of Nabha may take against me. I write this statement to inform the Court of the facts as I know them and to correct some incorrect statements that have been made. I further wish to make clear the object of my visit to Nabha.[2]

I have had every courtesy from this Court and I have no grievance against it. Indeed there is little room for any grievance or complaint where the Court has merely acted as a post office to convey the orders of some one else who has kept in the background. When at Jaito I read in the order served on me that a certain Mr. J. Wilson Johnston[3] purported to be the present "Administrator of Nabha State". I had never heard of this gentleman before. I had read in the papers that the administration of Nabha has been changed, the Maharaja made to retire and some other arrangement had been made. But I am not aware under what law this change in the administration had been made and an "administrator" appointed. Nor do I know that any mention is made in the Criminal Procedure Code or Indian Penal Code of the "administrator" or of his right to issue orders under Sec. 144 Cr. P. Code. Ever since my arrival at Jaito however I have been repeatedly confronted with the name or designation of the present "administrator" of Nabha. To almost every questión that I have asked

1. Miscellaneous Prison Papers, J. N. Collection, N.M.M.L.
This draft, prepared by Jawaharlal, was later drastically revised by him on the advice of his father.
2. The rulers of the two Sikh states, Nabha and Patiala, had a bitter personal quarrel which resulted ultimately in the deposition of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha by the Government of India and the appointment of a British Administrator to rule the state. This deposition led to a fresh agitation by the Sikh community. Batches of volunteers (*Jathas*) came to Jaito in Nabha state. These *Jathas* were beaten up by the police, arrested, and later left in remote places in the jungle.
After attending the special Congress session in Delhi, Jawaharlal went to Nabha on 19 September 1923 to witness this agitation. He was promptly arrested, handcuffed to one of his companions, Santanam, and taken in chains to Nabha for trial.
3. J. Wilson Johnston (1876-1933); a member of the I.C.S.

the reply has been given that the "administrator" will decide. Even the most trivial matters which have been provided for in the jail manual have been referred to him. Under-trial prisoners are supposed to possess certain rights — to consult their relatives and advisers, to write letters through the jail authorities etc. I have been prevented from seeing or communicating with any person outside and have been informed that such is the order of the "administrator". The Court informed me on one occasion that we would be allowed to write letters home if the jail rules so allowed but immediately after came the orders of the "administrator" that this would not be permitted. Even a request for a change of clothes had to be referred to the "administrator" and it took two full days before I was allowed to take out a change from my luggage. Yesterday morning I presented an application to the Court insisting on my right, as an under-trial prisoner, to interview my relatives and advisers and also to write letters. A second sitting of the Court took place in the afternoon and I was informed that my application had been sent to the "administrator" who had passed certain orders on it. Thus on the admission of the Court, it is the "administrator" who takes upon himself the business of deciding on our applications, and the Court has merely the pleasant function of transmitting his orders to us. The whole trial becomes a farce if the Court is relegated to this position. We are not being tried in a Court of law but in a feeble parody of it with the "administrator" sitting in the background somewhere behind the *purdah*, issuing orders to his marionettes who have to carry out his bidding without thought or reason. Indeed the "administrator" is like Pooh-Bah of the Mikado, the Lord High Everything, and interferes in every matter, judicial or executive.

I am informed that my father was in Nabha yesterday. He had come all the way from Allahabad to see me and advise me but we have not been permitted to see each other. I merely point this out as an instance of the ways in which the Nabha State is administered at present.

My companions[4] and I had read in the papers about strange doings in Nabha and Jaito. We decided to come here for a couple of days to see what was happening. We also wanted to see in what manner the Akali Sikhs were meeting the situation. We therefore proceeded to Muktsar and from there we went by road on horseback and bullock cart towards Jaito. On our way we passed Akali *Jathas*. About two

4. K. Santhanam and . T. Gidwani.
Gidwani (1891-1935) was for many years principal of the Gujarat Vidyapith.

or three miles from Jaito we caught up a *Jatha* and discarding our bullock cart and horse we decided to walk along in their wake. Thus we arrived at Jaito. When the *Jatha* was stopped at Jaito we stood by to see what was happening. We were asked by the police or military who we were and what our object was. We told them that we were obviously not Akalis or members of the *Jatha*. We had come along with them to note developments. We continued watching from the roadside. The statement of the Superintendent of Police of Jaito to the effect that we were forcibly kept back from proceeding further — *hath phaila ke roke gai*[5] — is, like many other statements made by the worthy member of the police force in this and in another proceeding, a lie. There was no object in our trying to force our way. We had come to watch and we stood aside to see the *Jatha* and the police. Just then the Superintendent of Police came and showed me an order under Sec. 144 signed by Mr. Wilson Johnston as "administrator" of Nabha State. I accepted the service of this order and informed the Superintendent that I did not intend leaving Nabha territory. My companions and I then went to a small building near by — I think it is called the *Dharamshala* — and sat down in the verandah as the sun was hot outside. A little later the Superintendent of Police returned with some others, one of whom we were told was the District Magistrate of the place. We were formally arrested under Sec. 188. My companions pointed out that no order had been served on them so far but this difficulty was got over by the District Magistrate pronouncing an *oral* order against them under Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. As my friends are dealing with their part of the case I need not say more about it. I may mention however that the statement of the Superintendent of Police of Jaito that my companions refused to sign the order under Sec. 144 is an untruth. They were never asked to sign. I am sure that they would have willingly signed if they had been asked to do so.

These are the facts leading up to our arrest. I do not desire to take advantage of any technicalities but I wish to make it clear that the order under Sec. 144 was not a bona fide order. There was not the slightest danger of our visit resulting in a breach of public tranquillity and I make bold to say that the "administrator" knew this. Indeed, our entry into Nabha territory, our stay there for some hours and eventually our arrest, did not as a matter of fact result in any disturbance of the public peace. The only peace that it probably disturbed was the peace of mind of the "administrator". The issuing of this order under Sec. 144 is a prostitution of legal process. It was not

5. Stopped with linked hands.

meant to serve an object contemplated by the law but merely to prevent outsiders from entering Nabha State. The State has apparently become sacred territory where none may enter who is not prepared to bow down to the "administrator".

The order refers to our membership of the All India Congress Committee and gives as a reason for the fear of a breach of peace the recent resolutions of the Congress Committee. I take it that the "administrator" is not well up in what is happening outside Nabha State and in his ignorance has referred to the resolutions of the Special Congress held at Delhi as resolutions of the "Congress Committee". I have thus been arrested in my capacity as a member of the All India Congress Committee. The "administrator's" references to the Congress and the Committee are unbecoming and insulting and as a humble member of that national body I cannot tolerate any such impertinence.

I have stated above that my object in visiting Nabha State was to find out the truth of various allegations made against the present administration. That object has been largely served and I have to thank the "administrator" and his underlings for the speedy discovery of the true state of affairs in Nabha. Our arrest soon after we enter [ed] Nabha territory on a peaceful mission of enquiry, our subsequent treatment, our seclusion from all outside contact, the refusal to permit us to see our advisers and relatives, the refusal to allow us to send any letters or other communications even as under-trial prisoners and lastly the farce of a trial which we are undergoing, are eloquent testimony of the present state of Nabha. I have no personal knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the State during Maharaja Ripudaman Singh's rule but I can say from personal knowledge that the present conditions are scandalous and shocking. No man who values his honour and refuses to bow down to the "administrator" is apparently safe. High officials of the old Nabha administration are at present in the jail with us, their crime being apparently their loyalty to their old chief. They are not tried, nor is a charge brought against them. The old system of *lettres de cachet*[6] evidently finds favour with the "administrator" of Nabha State. Others who have been tried are little better off. Their trials are farcical and monstrous sentences are awarded to them. Trials are practically conducted in camera and outsiders are seldom if ever admitted. Even in our case when there was some inducement to the authorities to observe the forms of law, people were seldom allowed to enter.

6. Summary warrant for arrest and detention without trial which was widely used in France before 1789.

They were stopped outside in spite of my drawing the attention of the Court repeatedly to this fact. To all our protests the answer is given: such is the way in Nabha State. It has not taken us long to discover the way in Nabha State under the present "administrator".

We have also come across in jail respected members of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee[7] treated as ordinary felons although they have not even been sentenced yet. Many Akalis in the jail have been on hunger strike for some time.

I should also like to state here as an instance of Nabha justice certain proceedings taken against us yesterday. Late in the evening, after dusk and after we had already had two sittings of this Court, we were taken to a room and made to sit there. There were others present there including our old acquaintance the Superintendent of Police of Jaito and the Court Inspector. With us was placed another prisoner in chains. Suddenly the Court Inspector started questioning the Superintendent of Police. I enquired what was happening and was told that a fresh proceeding had started against us. We were being charged under Sec. 145 I.P.C. for being members or leaders of an unlawful assembly. No notice or warrant or any kind of information had been given to us of this proceeding. I told the Court that this was the most extraordinary procedure I had heard of outside a stage and it was utterly opposed to all law and procedure. The proceedings however continued, the farce was gone through. The Superintendent of Police of Jaito excelled himself and drew upon his imagination to a remarkable extent. He improved upon his old story as stated in this Court and gave utterance to more lies in a few minutes than I can remember. We were charged with refusal to disperse after we had been ordered to do so. I was not aware till I came to Nabha under arrest that any *Jatha* had been declared to be an unlawful assembly. Nor was any one, in my hearing, asked to disperse. The *Jatha* was asked to go back and not to proceed further. They refused to turn back and sat down on the road. My companions and I were not asked to go away or disperse. I was shown the order under Sec. 144 which I refused to obey and then, as I have stated above, we went and sat in the verandah of the *Dharamshala*. There we were arrested. It is somewhat difficult for me to understand how persons under arrest can disperse.

7. A committee set up by the Sikhs in 1920 for supervising the management of the gurdwaras.

Our co-accused in this proceeding was one Darbara Singh[8]. He was stated by the imaginative Superintendent of Police to have been the leader of the *Jatha* and to have contumaciously refused to disperse his *Jatha*. This is an absolute lie and I can speak from personal knowledge of it. Darbara Singh was never with the *Jatha*. Every member of the *Jatha* wore a black turban. Darbara had a saffron-coloured turban on and so could easily be recognised. Darbara Singh met my companions and me when we were riding quite separated from the *Jatha* some miles from Jaito. As we did not know the way he was good enough to guide us. When we started walking, Darbara Singh took my pony and marched with my luggage and with my luggage he went to Jaito station. He was nowhere near the *Jatha* when the police or the military stopped it, nor was he arrested there. He was probably arrested at the station where he happened to be with my luggage. The whole story of Darbara Singh as stated by the Jaito Superintendent of Police is a lie and is clearly an after-thought.

This is the justice of the present administration of Nabha. The *Jatha* which came to jail has, I believe, been released but Darbara Singh, a man who had nothing to do with it, has been run in for leading that *Jatha*. Darbara Singh has suffered for his country for many years. He has suffered internment in jail and has been shot at by British troops ever since he came back on the *Komagata Maru*.[9] I am proud to be put in the same dock with him and trust that I shall exhibit the same courage as he has shown on numerous occasions.

Various proceedings are being taken against us in Nabha Courts. I have pointed out how utterly illegal and groundless they are. My friend and co-accused Mr. Santanam has dealt with the law and I do not desire to say anything more about it. We do not desire to take advantage of any technical or legal plea. I merely point them out to show how unscrupulous the proceedings are. It is my business to combat the British Government in India and all its works and I shall continue to do so till we have achieved success. The straight thing to do is to run me in for sedition and I shall gladly and joyfully admit

8. (1890-1955); of Bhatinda district, one of the survivors of the *Komagata Maru* and a participant in the Akali agitation.

9. A Japanese vessel, chartered by Baba Gurdit Singh of Amritsar in 1914 for carrying a large number of Punjabis to Canada. As they were not allowed to land in Canada, the vessel returned to Calcutta. The Government regarded these Sikhs as revolutionaries, and ordered them to leave immediately for the Punjab in a special train. Only 60 passengers agreed, and soldiers opened fire on the rest. Eighteen Sikhs were killed, and many arrested.

the charge. But the ways of the Nabha administration are not straight. They are crooked.

I rejoice that I am being tried for a cause which the Sikhs have made their own. I was in jail when the Guru Ka Bagh struggle was gallantly fought and won by the Sikhs. I marvelled at the courage and sacrifice of the Akalis and wished that I could be given an opportunity of showing my deep admiration of them by some form of service. That opportunity has now been given to me and I earnestly hope that I shall prove worthy of their high tradition and fine courage. *Sat Sri Akal.*

Jawaharlal Nehru

Central Jail — 25 September 1923

Nabha — 10.30 a.m.

2. Statement in Court[1]

I do not wish to defend myself in the proceedings, as it is not our practice to produce any witness or offer defence in proceedings taken against us by the British Government. As a noncooperator I merely wish to inform the court of the facts as I know them and to correct some wrong statements that have been made. I also wish to point out a number of illegalities and irregularities which have occurred in this case. Before I proceed further in my statement, I desire to thank the court for the uniform courtesy that has been extended to me.

2. I realise that it is difficult for this court to act independently or to dissociate itself from the executive which has taken the initiative in starting the case against us. Indeed I learnt with some surprise that even applications made by us to the court were being referred to the 'Administrator' of the state for orders. On the morning of the 24th September I presented an application to the court insisting on my right as an undertrial prisoner to interview my relatives and advisers and also to write letters. A second sitting of the court took place

1. 25 September 1923. *The Bombay Chronicle*, 5 October 1923.

the same afternoon and I was then informed that my application had been sent to the Administrator who had passed certain orders on it. Thus on the admission of the court it is the Administrator who decides on some of the applications presented to this court and the court merely transmits his orders to us. The gentleman who initiated the proceedings against us thus becomes our judge. It is because of our conviction that it is not possible to obtain justice in matters to which the Government is a party that we refrain from offering defence.

3. I do not know under what authority the present court is functioning. I take it that the court derived its jurisdiction from the will of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh the rightful ruler of Nabha State and could only continue to exercise it during his pleasure. He has now been dispossessed and is not at liberty to impose his will on the people of Nabha. No attempt has been made to show that the present Administration has either been appointed by him or under a voluntary and valid power of appointment conferred by him. The British Government cannot, without an express authority freely given in this behalf by the Maharaja, be entitled to interfere in the internal administration of the state. No such authority has been proved and no circumstances can be or have, in fact, been shown to exist which would render such authority unnecessary. These facts must be proved in the court as any other facts and the court cannot merely take judicial notice of the change of administration.

4. When I arrived at Jaito and an order purporting to be under Section 144 Cr. P.C. was shown to me, I read in it that Mr. Wilson Johnston was the present Administrator of Nabha State. I did not then know and I do not yet know under what law Mr. Johnston has been appointed the Administrator and what his position and powers are. I am not aware of any mention in the Cr. P.C. or I.P.C. of the Administrator or his power to issue orders under Section 144 Cr. P.C. Even according to law as administered in British India, to which repeated reference has been made here, only such persons as are authorised to do so can issue these orders. No attempt whatever has been made to show that the Administrator has been empowered by competent authority to exercise either generally or specially the jurisdiction vested in any one of the classes of magistrates mentioned in the Section.

5. My companions and I had read in the papers about strange happenings in Nabha and Jaito. We decided that on our way back from Delhi after the Congress we should pay a short visit of a couple

of days to this state to see for ourselves what was happening. We knew very little of the facts at the time. We were told that Mukhtsar was the Sikh centre from which Akali *Jathas* were sent to Jaito. We went there to make enquiries as to what the Sikh version was and how they were meeting the situation. We then proceeded by road on horseback and bullock cart towards Jaito. There was no Akali *Jatha* with us but we passed some *Jathas* on the way. About two miles from Jaito within the Nabha territory we caught up a *Jatha* and, discarding our bullock cart and horse, we decided to walk along in their wake so as to be able to watch closely what happened to them. Thus we arrived at Jaito. We sent the bullock cart containing our luggage straight to the station, as it was our intention to leave by the evening train. When the *Jatha* was stopped by the police we stood by to see what was happening. We were asked by a policeman if we were accompanying the *Jatha*. I told him that we were obviously not Akalis or members of the *Jatha* which consisted of Akalis only in their distinctive black turbans and clothes. We had come along with the *Jatha* to see what happened to them. We continued watching from the road side the *Jatha* occupying the middle of the road and confronting the police. The public prosecutor has referred to a statement said to have been made by the Superintendent of Police of Jaito to the effect that we were forcibly kept back by the police from proceeding further. I do not know if any such statement has been made by the Superintendent of Police. In any event the statement is wholly wrong and untrue. There was no object in our trying to force our way. We had come to watch and we stood aside to see the *Jatha* and the police.

6. Just then the Superintendent of Police of Jaito came and showed me an order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. signed by Mr. Johnston. The order prohibited me from entering Nabha State. As a matter of fact I had entered Nabha territory some hours before on my way to Jaito. It did not thus apply to the circumstances of the case. I accepted service of the order and further informed the Superintendent that I did not intend leaving Nabha territory immediately. My companions and I then went to a small building nearby—I think it is called a *Dharamshala*—and sat down in the verandah as the sun was hot outside. A little later the Superintendent of Police returned with some others, one of whom, we were told, was the District Magistrate of the place. We were formally arrested under Section 188. I endeavoured to point out some irregularities and read part of the order under Section 144, but none of the officials present knew English and so could not understand the order. My companions laid stress on the fact that no order had been served on them and the order served on

me certainly did not forbid them from doing anything. The difficulty was got over by the District Magistrate pronouncing an oral order against them under Section 144 Cr. P.C. On a further protest being made that the order could not be oral, we were informed that in Nabha State it could be so. I may mention that the statement of the Superintendent of Police of Jaito that my companions refused to sign the order under Section 144 is an untruth. They were never asked to sign. I am sure they would have willingly signed if they had been asked to do so.

7. Another statement made, I think, by the Superintendent of Police to the effect that the Akali *Jatha* and we were asked to disperse is also not true. No such request was made in my hearing. Some people in the *Jatha* were asked to go back but they refused to do so and sat down in the middle of the road. I asked the Superintendent of Police what he wanted to do with the *Jatha*. He replied that they were needlessly sitting in the hot sun and he merely wanted them to go under a tree a little away from the road. No mention of an unlawful assembly was made to my knowledge. Indeed, I knew nothing about it till proceedings were started against us at Nabha. All I was told then was that people were not permitted to enter a gurdwara and its immediate neighbourhood where a *Diwan* had been held. But both these places were, so I was informed, several hundred yards away from the places where the *Jatha* stopped. So far as we were concerned, it is somewhat difficult to understand how persons under arrest could disperse.

8. After our arrest and search we were led away to the police station. The *Jatha* was still sitting at the time in the middle of the road. We were kept at the police station till 10 p.m. when we were handcuffed, one of the hands being left free, and chained and so taken to the station and put in a crowded 3rd class carriage. After changing at Bhatinda we arrived at Nabha in the small hours of the morning of the 22nd and were marched to a police *chowkie*. Later in the day we were made to march to the central jail. All this time our handcuffs had not been taken off. They were eventually removed in the central jail.

9. These are the facts leading up to our arrival under arrest at Nabha. I do not desire to take advantage of any technicalities, but I do wish to make it quite clear that the proceedings against us are wholly illegal and irregular. The order served on me prohibited my entry into Nabha territory. As framed the order was incapable of

being complied with. The act which it prohibited had already been done.

10 The order was not a bonafide one or meant for the purpose provided for by the Section. To issue an order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. merely to prevent outsiders entering Nabha is a misuse of the Section. There was not the slightest chance of our visit resulting in a breach in public tranquillity. Indeed our entry into Nabha territory, our stay there for some hours, and eventually our arrest did not as a matter of fact result in any disturbance or likelihood of disturbance of the public peace. Our mission was one of peaceful enquiry and no attempt has been made even to allege that it might have affected the public tranquillity. It is evident from the brief outline of the case given by the Administrator in a letter to Pandit Motilal Nehru that he considered the presence of the accused under the present circumstances most inadvisable in Jaito. The fact that a certain thing is inadvisable from the viewpoint of the Administrator does not make it something which will disturb the public tranquillity. The use of the Section under these circumstances is wholly against law. It cannot be used to cut off all entry into Nabha State and make it a quarantined area where none may enter to find out what is happening. The reference in the notice to certain resolutions of the Congress, which have nothing to do with any apprehension of a disturbance of public tranquillity in Nabha, makes it clear that the object aimed at was the Congress. The Section has not only been used against us but also against people who desired to come to Nabha to see us and advise us in jail.

11. After service of the order under Section 144 we remained in the immediate neighbourhood till our arrest. I do not know what the Superintendent of Police expected us to do after serving the order. We could not vanish. The act forbidden by the order had already taken place before it had been served. On seeing the order I informed the Superintendent of Police that it was not my intention to leave the place then. But I fail to understand how my remaining at the place at the time became an offence or constituted any disobedience. I could not have acted differently whatever my intention might have been. Mere intention to disobey is not disobedience of an order. During the few minutes that elapsed between the service of the order and our arrest we were resting in the verandah of the *Dharamshala* after our long journey and we could not do anything else if we wanted to carry out the order.

12. The disobedience of an order under Section 144 is not by itself an offence. Even if there is such disobedience it must be shown that such disobedience has actually resulted in breach of public tranquillity. Not the slightest attempt has been made to show this.

13. I would add that the arrest under the circumstances was not in accordance with law. A case under Section 188 is a summons case and no warrant should be issued. Our being handcuffed and chained and then kept under restraint amounted to assault and unlawful restraint. The fact that subsequently a false case under Section 145 I.P.C. has been started against us does not justify the original arrest. I mention this not because I complain of being handcuffed but to show that the whole proceedings have not been bona fide or in accordance with any law.

14. We have been told that our trial is a public trial. But in spite of this assurance the public is not admitted and even friends who came long distances to attend the trial are kept out.

15. I have given the facts in some detail and have pointed out some illegalities and irregularities to show the methods and procedure adopted in Nabha under the present regime. I do not know what the state of Nabha was during the previous administration. But the present administration has certainly shown in our case a remarkable disregard of all rules of law and procedure. It seems to me very strange that any straightforward administration should seek to keep out all outsiders and be afraid of an exposure. Something must be radically wrong for an administration to have recourse to the preventive Sections of the Code in order to stifle all legitimate enquiry.

16. I know little about the facts relating to the Nabha agitation now being carried on by the Sikhs or about the administration of the Maharaja who has been made to retire. If the action taken by the Government of India was bona fide in the interests of the state I would imagine that they welcome enquiry and outside investigation. We came with open minds, but we were met by an order restricting our liberty of movement. As a matter of fact it was our previous intention to leave Jaito by the next train but nevertheless I could be no consenting party to an illegal and immoral order. I do feel that the restrictions imposed by the present administration in Nabha on our undoubted rights are indefensible and raise a wider issue. On that issue my duty is clear. If that results in a conviction and sentence I shall gladly welcome it.

3. To Father[1]

Central Jail
Nabha
30/9/23

My dear Father,

Kapil Deva gave me your little note. It was most generous and loving of you to write it and I feel that I am not worthy of it. I confess that the idea of causing you any pain is most distressing to me and I am haunted by the thought. It is a dearly cherished desire of mine to serve you and to lighten, if possible, the heavy burden you carry.

Kapil Deva must have told you of the proceedings here. I have little to add. I am afraid the progress is slow. To us it is immaterial when the case ends, though undoubtedly it would be preferable to have it ended and to know exactly where we stand. I suppose you have gone to Allahabad or are going today. We shall expect Kapil Deva tomorrow. I am not in need of anything.

With love,

Your loving son
Jawahar

1. J. N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

4. To Kapil Deva Malaviya and Mahadeva Desai[1]

I promised you in Delhi to write letters to you occasionally. I am afraid I shall hardly be able to do so because of *force majeure* and jail rules. But I have a chance today as an under-trial of writing and I take it to send you and Devadas my love. In December 1921, Bapu expressed a certain desire in *Young India*, I think, to see father and me march along the streets in a particular fashion. That has partly come to pass though not with father. My companion was Santanam, Gidwani bringing up the rear. It was most interesting and we thoroughly enjoyed ourselves.

Our cases are proceeding under Sec. 188 and Sec. 145, I.P.C. The latter is a most extraordinary charge but such is life in India nowadays and one must not be surprised at anything. I am looking forward to a stay in the jails in Nabha State. It will be a new experience and in this *blase* world, it is something to have a new experience!

We have had no news of the outside world since the 19th, when we left Delhi. This seclusion has its advantages. Don't you envy me? I hope you are not downhearted after Delhi. Cheer up and march on. Was it not Nietcshe[2] (I am hopelessly wrong about the spelling) who said that there would be no resurrection if there were no graves?

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *Jawaharlal Nehru : Statements, Speeches and Writings* (Allahabad 1929), p. 147. This undated letter was written from Nabha jail.
2. Nietzsche (1844-1900); the German philosopher and author of *Thus Spake Zarathustra*.

5. The Release[1]

Sir,—In an Associated Press message dated Lahore, the 4th October, appearing in *The Leader* of the 6th October, there is a passage about our release from jail in Nabha which might convey a wrong impression. I understand that the Associated Press correspondent in Nabha is the new Administrator himself and so I presume that this message has emanated from him. Considerable pains were apparently taken to ensure that the official message should appear before any other message had a chance. Even my private telegrams which were express and on one of which a special late fee was paid were held up for 12 hours or more.

The Associated Press message says that "the Administrator suspended the execution of the sentence and ordered all the three accused to leave the State forthwith, otherwise they will have to undergo the sentence." What actually happened is given correctly in the Ambala message, which has been passed by the censor, appearing in the same issue of your paper. There was no question of "otherwise" or any alternative being mentioned. In one order the Administrator suspended the sentence without reference to anything else. In another piece of writing which was subsequently read to us, he said that we were to leave Nabha and not to return without his permission. An enquiry by the Superintendent as to what was our intention met with the response from us that this was not the affair of the Nabha authorities and that we would act in the manner we thought fit and proper. We left Nabha by the early morning train as this suited our convenience. Laws and consciences in Nabha are remarkably elastic and I have little doubt that if we return to Nabha we might be locked up in jail or we might have to face a few more farcical trials. If, however, it is necessary in the interests of our case to go to Nabha I hope that my companions and I will do so. The Administrator may then have another

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Tribune*, 11 October 1923.
Jawaharlal, Gidwani and Santanam were each sentenced to 30 months' rigorous imprisonment but the sentences were suspended and they were ordered to leave the state. Jawaharlal contended that the suspension was unconditional; the Nabha administration later adopted the attitude that the sentences would be enforced if they returned to the state.

chance of covering himself with glory by setting aside all law and showing to the world the might of the 'reformed' Administrator of Nabha. I suppose that the purpose of deliberately not supplying us with copies of the orders was to enable different interpretations to be put on them.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Allahabad, Oct. 6

6. To K.M. Panikkar[1]

Allahabad
2 April 1924

Dear Panikkar,[2]
I find that there is a general impression that Gidwani, Santanam and I were discharged from Nabha in October last under a conditional order and that Gidwani having broken that order is undergoing that sentence now. This is quite wrong. The Administrator of Nabha is capable of doing anything and I am not surprised at his treating Gidwani as a convict without another trial, but the public should know the facts. I am sending you a statement giving the facts. This is not for publication as it is but merely to put you in possession of the facts. I wish Gidwani's position was brought out.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

During our trial at Nabha suggestions were made to us informally by high officials that all would be well if we agreed to leave the State

1. A.I.C.C. Papers, F. No. 4(1) (KW) (1)/1924, p. 267, N.M.M.L.
2. (1895-1963); historian and diplomatist, who, after a varied career before 1947, served as Ambassador in China, the United Arab Republic and France and as a member of the States Reorganization Commission.

immediately. The case might be withdrawn and all proceedings stopped. We made it quite clear that we could give no undertaking of any kind whatever the result of the case might be. Our trial went on and we were eventually sentenced to 2½ years each. That same evening we were sent for from our cell by the Superintendent of the jail. We went out and found that the Chief of Police was also with him. The Superintendent read out to me an order of the Administrator under Sec. 407 Cr. P. Code suspending the sentences that had been passed on us that day. There was no condition of any kind mentioned in this order. After a while the Superintendent informed us that he had to communicate to us another order. He produced another piece of paper and read out that we were required to leave Nabha forthwith and not to return without the Administrator's permission. The second order had nothing to do with the first under Sec. 407. It was not issued under any section of the Code or any other law. It was headed I think an executive order. We were asked by the Superintendent what we proposed to do. We told him that this was no business of the officials of the Nabha State. So far as they were concerned they had to release us under the unconditional order under Section 407. For the rest we would do whatever we considered fit and proper. He agreed. On my asking for copies of the orders he refused to give them. He would not even allow us to copy the orders and in fact he showed us the written instructions of the Administrator to the effect that copies were *not* to be given to us. We then gathered together our belongings and went to the station where we enquired about trains etc. We left for Ambala a few hours later. Our telegrams from Nabha were all held up for a while to allow the version of the Administrator a good start. This version created the impression that we had been discharged conditionally on our giving an undertaking. The Administrator was at the time, I believe, the Nabha correspondent of the Associated Press.

My subsequent efforts to get copies of the judgements passed against us in Nabha met with failure. I was told that being an "outsider" I could not get a copy.

It is quite clear that the order under Sec. 407 suspending our sentences was unconditional and no piece of writing or "executive order" can make this into a conditional order. The old sentences have been suspended for good and they cannot legally be revived.

Jawaharlal Nehru
2/4/24

7. Correspondence with the Nabha Administration

I[1]

Sir,—I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to the Administrator, Nabha State. I shall be obliged if you will publish it in *The Leader*.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Allahabad
24 May 1924

The Administrator,
Nabha State, Nabha (Punjab).

Dear Sir,
I have just read in *Young India* of the 22nd May a letter dated 12th May written by you to Mr. M. K. Gandhi in regard to Mr. Gidwani's imprisonment. It is stated in this letter that you suspended the sentence passed against Principal Gidwani, Mr. K. Santanam and me on condition that we left the State and did not return thereto without permission. My recollection of this episode is entirely at variance with this. I was and still am under the impression that our sentences were suspended unconditionally. There was no reference, so far as I can remember, in the order of suspension under Sec. 407 C.P.C. or even on the piece of paper containing this order, to any condition, or to our returning to Nabha with or without permission. This point was further cleared up by our conversation with the Superintendent of the jail and the Chief of Police who were present. Subsequently, we were informed of another order styled as executive order on another piece of paper, wherein we were asked to leave the State and not to return without permission. In this second paper there was no mention of our sentences or suspensions. My request for copies of the orders was

1. Letter to the Editor, *The Leader*, 29 May 1924.

not granted nor was I allowed to copy them myself. I was told that you had expressly forbidden copies. I shall be glad if you will kindly let me know if the facts I have stated above about the suspension order are correct. I shall also be obliged if you will send me copies of the suspension order and the 'executive order'. You will admit, I hope, that it is only fair to me to supply me with these copies so that I may know where I stand.

Jawaharlal Nehru

II[2]

Sir,—I enclose for favour of publication a copy of a letter I have addressed to the Administrator, Nabha State.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Allahabad, June 19.

Anand Bhawan,
June 19, 1924.

The Administrator,
Nabha State, Nabha (Punjab).

Dear Sir,
I sent you a letter under registered cover on the 24th May and requested you to supply me with copies of the order suspending Principal Gidwani's, Mr. K. Santanam's and my sentences and any other order relating to us issued at the time. I have not yet received a reply to my letter nor have I received the copies asked for.

I have no doubt whatever that the statement you made in your letter to the editor, *Young India* that Principal Gidwani, Mr. Santanam and I were discharged conditionally is wholly incorrect and a reference to the orders and other papers must have convinced you of this. I trust that being convinced of this you will take early steps to correct your

2. Letter to the Editor, *The Leader*, 23 June 1924.

previous statement and make it clear that Principal Gidwani, Mr. Santanam and I were unconditionally released. There can thus be no question of Principal Gidwani being sent to jail without trial or sentence because he is said to have broken a condition which was never made.

I would again request you to let me have a copy of the suspension order. I would also like to know definitely if Nabha State is supposed to be out of bounds for me and if so, under what order. I have no immediate wish to go to Nabha, but I should like to know what kind of a welcome awaits me there in case I am moved by a desire to visit the State.

III[3]

Dear Sir—I thank you for your letter of the 25th June[4] which was forwarded to me to Ahmedabad. I am sorry that you have overlooked my request to be supplied with a copy of the suspension order passed in my case. The wording of this order would have put an end to any difference of opinion on the subject.

I am aware that the sentences passed on me were suspended and not remitted. But the question is whether this suspension order was conditional or unconditional. If it was the latter, as I claim it was, then the sentence cannot be revised as there is no condition to be

3. Letter to the Administrator, Nabha State, reported in *The Leader*, 27 July 1924.
4. The following is the text of letter No. 74 dated 25 June 1924 from Mr. J. Wilson-Johnston, Administrator, Nabha State to Jawaharlal Nehru : "I regret that your letter of the 24th of May has remained unanswered owing to carelessness of my office.

If you will remember, your sentences and those of your co-accused were suspended and were not remitted. You were ordered to leave the State forthwith and not to return without any express permission. Prof. Gidwani violated this order and accordingly the suspension of his sentence was cancelled and he is at present serving the original sentence.

At the end of your letter you ask whether Nabha is out of bounds for you. It certainly is, save with my permission, and if you enter the State without such express permission you are liable to have suspension order in your case cancelled, as has been done in Prof. Gidwani's case, and serve the sentence originally passed upon you."

broken. An unconditional order cannot subsequently be made conditional nor can it be affected by a separate or subsequent order. I do not wish to advance or take advantage of purely legal or technical arguments but wholly incorrect statements have been made that our sentences were suspended unconditionally. These statements are wrong and must be corrected. Prof. Gidwani when he crossed the Nabha border on a mission of humanity did not and could not infringe any condition laid down in the suspension order because there was no condition in the order.

I would again request you to publish or send me a copy of the suspension order so that all doubts about its interpretation may be set at rest.

Jawaharlal Nehru

GLOSSARY

Adab	salutation, Muslim style
Adhyaya	chapter
Ahimsa	non-violence
Akali	literally meaning immortal; a militant organisation among the Sikhs
Akhara	an arena for wrestling
Allah-o-Akbar	God is great
Amir	nobleman; title of the ruler of Afghanistan until 1926
Anga	loose upper garment
Angarkha	an upper dress for men
Asan	mat generally made of cloth or grass
Ashtami	the eighth day after the new moon or the full moon
Baba	a general term for religious leaders
Bakr-Id	a Muslim festival
Bande Mataram	"homage to motherland"; the song in Bankim Chatterji's novel *Anand Math*
Banka	silver ornament
Basant Panchami	Hindu festival denoting the advent of spring
Bhabhi	brother's wife
Bhai	brother
Brahmin	the highest caste among the Hindus
Bua	father's sister
Chacha	uncle
Chadra (Chadar)	a covering sheet
Chakkar	a circle
Chappals	slippers
Chara	fodder
Charkha	spinning wheel
Chatak	an Indian weight (equivalent to about 58 grams)
Chatai	mat
Chiriakhana	aviary or zoo
Chirag	lamp
Chowkie	police station, checkpost
Dadu	grandfather

Deepawali	Hindu festival of lights
Dharamshala	free rest house for travellers
Dharma	religious duty
Dhoti	lower garment for men
Diwan	as used here, a religious congregation of the Sikhs
Dohar	a double covering sheet
Doli	palanquin
Ekka	a two-wheeled horse carriage
Ekkawala	owner or driver of an *ekka*
Gali	lane
Garha	hand-spun coarse cloth
Ghi	clarified butter
Gur	refined molasses
Gurdwara	Sikh shrine
Hakim	physician
Hamail	a necklace
Handi	an earthen pot
Hansli	a heavy silver ornament for the neck
Hartal	strike
Havan	a sacrificial fire
Hindola	a cradle or swing
Hindustan hamara	"Our India", a poem of Iqbal
Holi	Hindu spring festival
Ilaqa	area
Janamashtami	the day celebrated as the birthday of Krishna
Jatha	squad
Jhumak	an ornament for the ears
Ji-Huzoors	yes-men
Jo bole so nehal	blessed are those who utter
Julaha	weaver
Kangan	bracelet
Karan phool (Karna phool)	ear rings
Karinda	worker—agent
Katcha (Kachcha)	something which is not permanent; as used here, an under-trial prisoner
Kaviraj	an ayurvedic physician
Khadi, Khaddar	hand-spun cloth
Kheer Chattai (Chatai)	formal feeding ceremony of a child
Khwaja	a rich or respectable nobleman, a Muslim mystic

Kisan	peasant
Kisan Sabha	peasants' association
Kotwal	an officer in charge of the police station
Kukri	a skein of untwisted thread
Kurta	an upper garment resembling a shirt
Lagan	the rent or revenue charged on a field or estate
Lahanga	ladies' garment
Lala	a title mostly for Vaishyas, the business community
Lathi	bamboo staff
Lota	a small metal pot
Mal	the belt in a spinning wheel, made from twisted yarn
Masha	An Indian weight of about a gram
Maulana	a title among Muslims, meaning a learned person
Mirzai	a light quilt
Mohalla	locality
Munshi	a scribe; sometimes used as a respectful form of address
Nagrahi	coarse corn
Naib	assistant
Namaskar	a form of greeting
Naumi	the ninth day after the new or full moon
Nawab	a title generally for Muslim rulers
Nazm	poem
Neem	margosa tree
Nukl	a kind of dry sweet
Paizeb (Pajeb)	a silver anklet
Pakka	something well established; as used here, prisoners already convicted
Panchayat	the village court; generally consists of five elected members, known as *panch*, from among the residents of that village. One of them is chosen their leader—the *sarpanch*
Pandit	a learned person
Pargana, Perganna	a revenue division comprising several villages
Pathshala	school
Patwari	a village record-keeper

Pote	assessment on cultivated field
Pranam	salutation
Prarthna	prayer
Praschit (Prayashchitta)	atonement. Penance performed by orthodox Hindus
Puja	worship
Punis	cotton slivers
Purdah	veil
Qazi	a Mohammedan judge or law officer
Rajput	inhabitants, chiefly of Rajasthan, claiming descent from Kshatriyas
Raksha Bandhan Day	a Hindu festival when a Raksha, or band, is tied on a brother's wrist by his sister
Rasad	supplies
Ratti	an Indian weight
Ryot (Raiyat)	a cultivating tenant
Sabha	meeting; conference; association
Salooka, Saluka	upper garment
Samaj	society, association
Samvat	Vikram era—[one of the principal Hindu Calendars used in northern India]
Sarbarakar	deputy of the landlord
Sardar	chief; a title given to Sikhs
Sat Sri Akal	"true is the immortal God", a Sikh greeting
Satyagraha	truth force or soul force
Seer	an Indian weight (about 930 grams)
Seva Samiti	an organisation for voluntary social service
Shaikh	a chief and a spiritual guide
Shrawani	the last day of the month of Sravan, festival day among Hindus
Shuddhi	purification
Swadeshi	goods produced in one's own country
Swami	a religious leader
Syed	chief; tribe claiming descent from the Prophet
Tahsil	a sub-division of a district
Tahsildar	revenue collector in the tahsil
Takua	spindle
Taluqdars	landowners in Oudh
Tanzeb	fine muslin

Tapasya	penance, prayer, dedicated effort
Taria	a hand ornament
Thakurain	a rich land-owning high caste woman
Than	a roll of cloth of fixed length
Thanadar	the officer in charge of a *Thana*, a police station
Tobazia	an ornament
Tola	an Indian weight, about 11½ grams
Tonga	a horse-driven carriage on two large wheels
Ulemas	order of the Muslim divines
Upanayana	sacred thread ceremony of Hindus
Urad	a kind of black gram
Vaishakhi	a Hindu festival celebrated on the full moon day of the month of Vaishakh (March-April)
Vakils	lawyers
Vidyapeeth	educational institute
Vijaya Dashmi	a Hindu festival
Viyapar Mandal	trade association
Yagna	religious sacrifice and oblation
Zamindar	landlord
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